

The organ chorales of Johann Pachelbel: origins, purpose, style.

John Patrick Willmetts

**A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh**

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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The starting point of this study is an examination of the hymn books in use in the churches in Erfurt and Nürnberg when Pachelbel was organist in these places. The contents of the hymn books and the form of the chorale melodies found in them are related to the organ chorales of Pachelbel.

A survey of the place of the organ chorale in the performance of German hymns and the wider place of these in the liturgy leads to a detailed consideration of liturgical practice in Nürnberg's *Sebalduskirche*. Conclusions are drawn about exactly how the organ was used in church services, and the specific purposes for which Pachelbel's organ chorales were written.

A critique of earlier schemes of classification of Pachelbel's organ chorales is followed by a new scheme that takes into account recent insights into the manuscript history of the pieces.

An analysis of the style of Pachelbel's organ chorales covers the topics of modality and tonality, the treatment of part writing, dissonance, the elaboration of polyphonic lines, the influence of the Italian string masters on Pachelbel's style, *Figurenlehre*, *Affektenlehre*, and the place of these organ chorales in the historical development of the genre. Some questions of attribution and authenticity conclude the thesis proper.

The appendices comprise a note on the organs in Erfurt and Nürnberg at which Pachelbel presided, a complete list of the organ chorales with verbal and musical texts of the chorales and incipits for the organ chorales, two hitherto unpublished organ chorales attributed to Pachelbel in the manuscripts, and a full bibliography.

Declaration

I hereby certify that this thesis is my own unaided work. Any ideas expressed in it, unless specifically and duly acknowledged to come from the work of others, are my own.

I also declare that the work here submitted has not been submitted previously for any other degree or professional qualification.

[John Patrick Willmetts]

Edinburgh, 6th September 2007.

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The organ chorales of Johann Pachelbel: origins, purpose, style.

Preface

The intention in this thesis is first to explore the background to the origins of Pachelbel's organ chorales, both their musical antecedents, but, more particularly, the liturgical situation to which they were a response. This will be followed by a systematic classification of the organ chorales, and a description of certain aspects of their style.

I shall describe in some detail the 1663 *Christlich neüvermehrt- und gebessertes GESANGBUCH*, Erf1663 (copy in the *Staatsbibliothek* in Munich) and the 1690 *Nürnbergisches Gesang-Buch*, Nbg1690 (copy in Glasgow University Library), on the assumption that either Pachelbel knew these hymn books, or else that they considerably influenced the hymn-singing practices where he worked as organist. I shall then examine the contents of Pachelbel's *Tabulatur Buch Geistlicher Gesänge* (copy in the *Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek* in Weimar), a collection of chorale harmonisations notated in figured bass, half of which have introductory fuguettes, the whole compilation probably erroneously ascribed to Pachelbel. I shall compare the contents of this collection with that of the two hymn books, and attempt to reconstruct a picture of the hymnody with which Pachelbel worked.

The liturgy of the Lutheran church will be studied, drawing on the ordinances (*Kirchenordnungen*) outlining practice at various times. Also particularly important is Max Herold's *Alt-Nürnberg in seinen Gottesdiensten*, which contains a particularly full description of how worship was conducted in Nürnberg's churches at the end of the seventeenth century.

Pachelbel wrote organ chorales in a number of quite distinctive styles. It seems to me that he utilised these styles for particular liturgical and musical purposes. I propose to describe and classify these various styles in detail, and to show how they relate to those liturgical purposes.

Although it would be a mistake to see Pachelbel's importance chiefly in his being a precursor of J. S. Bach, many of the developments that he put in train were of fundamental significance for the composers of the following generation. The question of the extent to which Pachelbel broke new ground as a composer, and how much he was a preserver of earlier traditions, will underlie an examination of some aspects of the style of the organ chorales.

A survey of the manuscript history of the organ chorales will lead to certain conclusions about the authenticity of many of the organ chorales previously attributed to Pachelbel, and of others considered by some to be the work of other composers.

At the end there will be a comprehensive list of the organ chorales, with a verbal and musical text of the hymns and the incipit of each organ chorale; the text of two hitherto unpublished organ chorales will be included in a further appendix.

In his day, Pachelbel was held to be one of the greatest organ masters of southern Germany, a figure of comparable stature with Buxtehude.¹ Yet while Buxtehude's organ music is widely celebrated today, Pachelbel's is hardly known. The main reason for this is perhaps that whereas Buxtehude's music, especially his organ music, is extravert and flamboyant, the meeting ground of a number of styles that included Italian opera and dance music, Pachelbel's tends to be characterised by 'equanimity, serenity and restraint',² and deliberately excluded just those worldly elements which Buxtehude (and later Bach) were to incorporate with such effect.

As Nolte further notes, 'Pachelbel's [church] music was conceived as an integral part of the liturgy'.³ While the north German traditions and the peculiar

¹ Pachelbel is referred to as '*Meinem sehr werthen Herrn, [...] eines berühmten Mannes berühmten Nachfolger.....*' ('a most worthy gentleman, [...] the famous successor of a famous man....') in the introduction to the printed version of the sermon preached by Conrad Feuerlein on the occasion both of the dedication of the renovated organ in St. Sebaldus' Church, Nürnberg, in 1691, and again at Pachelbel's installation as organist in 1695; the sermon was published by Wolfgang Endter in 1696. Other phrases used in the document are '*Dem Erbarn, Vorachtbarn und Kunst-berühmten D. Johann Pachelbel, Hochverordneten und Weitberuffenen Organisten*' [to the honourable, respected and artistically renowned D. Johann Pachelbel, most revered and widely famed organist]; and '*Sehr werther Herr und hochgeschätzter Freund*' [highly worthy gentleman and most valued friend].

² Ewald Valentin Nolte, *The Instrumental Works of Johann Pachelbel (1653-1706): An Essay to establish his stylistic position in the development of the Baroque musical art*, Ph. D. thesis, Northwestern University, 1954, p 282, is the source of the quotation.

³ Nolte 1954, Preface, page iv.

circumstances of Buxtehude's organ compositions led to spectacular works which were perhaps intended for a concert-like situation, the combination of the south-central German protestant tradition⁴ and Pachelbel's feeling for the liturgy led to organ music, the full effect of which is felt only within the liturgical context, music which has almost no element of outward show. While not being spectacular or flamboyant, nor having the virtuoso elements of Buxtehude's music, Pachelbel's music is nevertheless beautiful, expressive and exquisitely crafted.

It was something of an accident that Bach's becoming an orphan at the age of nine led to his being taught by his eldest brother Johann Christoph, with whom he went to live in Ohrdruf in 1695. Christoph had been taught in Erfurt by Pachelbel, and thus Bach became a 'grand-pupil' of Pachelbel's. Accidental though these circumstances may have been, the influence that the music and ideals of Pachelbel had on Bach would surely have happened anyway, bearing in mind Bach's enthusiasm for incorporating styles he experienced into his own music. Standing just at that point of transition from the early Baroque, where the practices of Renaissance polyphony, particularly in German church music, were still prevalent, to the High Baroque (when a new style became the norm), Pachelbel was one of the leaders, one of the first to create the new fugal style which, with its directional harmony and its pristine voice-leading techniques, became a norm that, through the influence of Bach, colours music even today. Karl Matthaei, the editor of Bärenreiter's inter-war-years edition of the organ works, became one the leading champions of Pachelbel's organ music; he writes, '*Wir nennen Johann Pachelbel, den berühmten Sebaldusorganisten von Nürnberg, als einen der bedeutendsten Wegbereiter....*'. The organ chorales (and the Magnificat fugues) exhibit this style to perfection, and in them we find just that treatment of organ polyphony which we have come to call Bachian.⁵

Robert Marshall has drawn attention to the connections between Luther and Bach; According to Marshall, Bach, the orphan, saw Luther (subliminally, doubtless) as a

⁴ Pachelbel came from Nürnberg, a protestant imperial city in Catholic Bavaria. The ecclesiastical tradition in which he grew up was presumably initially a strongly protestant one, but his further education took place in Regensburg and Vienna. Despite this education in a Catholic area received at the hands of Catholic musicians, Pachelbel remained a Protestant. Before his eventual return to Nürnberg he was active in Württemberg and Thuringia.

⁵ Karl Matthaei, *Johann Pachelbel Zu seinem dreihundertsten Geburtstag in Musik und Gottesdienst*, 7. Jahrgang, Nummer 5 (September/October 1953), pp 129-139, p129. 'We name Johann Pachelbel, the famous organist of Nürnberg's *Sebalduskirche*, as one of the most significant pathfinders...'

father figure. Marshall, calling attention to Harold Bloom's idea that great artists suffer an 'anxiety of influence', suggests that in Bach's case this did not apply, since Bach had in his immediate artistic ambit no predecessors of like stature to himself. Marshall indeed cites Pachelbel, naturally, as one of those whose ideas Bach 'merely "swallowed up"'.⁶ Marshall's ideas, however, could be applied equally to the relationship between Pachelbel and Luther. After the *Magnificat* settings the most numerous class of independent organ works by Pachelbel is the organ chorales; it is just that 'equanimity, serenity and restraint' that characterises Pachelbel's chorale-based organ music that Luther and the early reformers aimed at in the chorale, and it was just those qualities that were being lost at the time Pachelbel was writing his organ music. And it is perhaps for this reason that both Pachelbel's (and even more Bach's) music is both anachronistically backward-looking, the summing up of an era, and yet at the same time the harbinger of things to come, modern and innovative. Pachelbel deserves more credit for this *vis-à-vis* Bach than he receives, although saying this in no way belittles what Bach achieved.

Bach, that most universal of geniuses, absorbed influences from far and wide; the music of Pachelbel was one of those influences. If Bach's 18 organ chorales (the Leipzig chorales) are a compendium of the possibilities of the organ chorale, so also on a narrower front are the chorales in Pachelbel's *Erster Theil etlicher Choräle*, published in Nürnberg sometime before 1693. That Pachelbel did not see his way to using on a regular basis all the techniques displayed in this publication was because they did not all fit into the liturgical circumstances in which he worked; it was not a failure of creativity. Indeed, one specific technique, the treatment of the chorale as a *cantus firmus* with a small fughetta based on each line placed in *Vorimitation* before it, became known, thanks to Schweitzer, as 'the Pachelbel style',⁷ even if it was neither the most frequently used nor the most characteristic of Pachelbel's techniques; its perhaps most perfect expression is to be found as Bach's final chorale-prelude, *Vor deinem Thron tret' ich hiermit* (BWV 668).

Pachelbel stands as the most significant protestant church musician in the Saxony/Thuringia area of south-central Germany in the generation before Bach; his

⁶ Robert L. Marshall, *Luther, Bach and the Early-Reformation Chorale*. The Kessler Reformation Lecture, Atlanta, 1995, p 9.

⁷ Albert Schweitzer, *J. S. Bach*, translated by Ernest Newman, London, 1911, Volume I, pp 42-43.

achievements were considerable, leading the way in a number of important developments. If he was a significant influence on Bach, his music is nonetheless worthy of respect in its own right. The corpus of his organ chorales is indeed a significant one.

I should like here to explain my use of the term 'organ chorale'. While what I am talking about would normally be called in English a chorale prelude, this use of the term prelude is usually taken to mean a description of a free-standing piece of music, not necessarily a prelude to anything, much in the same way that overture came to mean a piece of orchestral music not preceding anything. Chopin's Preludes, Rachmaninov's Preludes and Walton's 'Spitfire' Prelude do not stand in front of anything.

Now of course many a chorale prelude is indeed a prelude in the sense of introducing something. In German the distinction is made clearer, since, if a piece is a prelude in this sense, it can be described as *Vorspiel*, *Choralvorspiel*. But most often the word used in German for a chorale setting is *Bearbeitung*, *Choralbearbeitung* (meaning setting or arrangement). Otherwise no term is used, simply *Choral* (the term equally for the hymn by itself as a piece of poetry, or the hymns sung to a tune, or the tune by itself,⁸) or even just the name of the chorale. While many chorales so described were indeed used to introduce a performance of a hymn, and were thus properly preludes, many were not, or if they were could also have been used in other ways. So to use the term chorale prelude is to prejudge an issue that I discuss at length in this thesis.

I have therefore chosen to use the term 'organ chorale' to signify any setting of a chorale other than those more extended and elaborate examples normally called chorale fantasies. Most organ chorales that I so describe are *cantus-firmus* settings, but the short fughettsas, of which Pachelbel wrote not a few, I shall also call organ chorales.

⁸ The term also was used to describe plainsong; it did not come into use as a term for the Lutheran hymn until the end of the 16th century [Robert L. Marshall/Robin A. Leaver: 'Chorale', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd Edition, ed. S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell (London, Macmillan, 2001), Volume V, pp 737-762, p 737)]. Thus its use in our discussion is to a certain extent anachronistic.

Because there is no modern ‘collected works’ edition of Pachelbel’s music, and because the attribution of many pieces previously thought to be by Pachelbel is now disputed, exact identification of the organ chorales is problematical. Seiffert’s edition of the organ chorales, published in 1903 as part of the series *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern*, is the most complete edition. I have therefore decided to use for identification purposes the numbering in that edition (reprinted by Dover). The organ chorales there are printed in alphabetical order; missing are: six of the partitas; one chorale (*Herr Jesu Christ, ich weiß gar wohl*) attributed by Seiffert to J. G. Walther; one (*Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein*) unaccountably left out by Seiffert; those chorales recently attributed to Pachelbel on the strength of the ascriptions in the Neumeister manuscript. In talking about these omissions I shall refer to them as they appear in other publications, most particularly Karl Matthaei’s Pachelbel edition (Bärenreiter) and Christoph Wolff’s J. M. Bach edition (Carus); those chorales appearing in Seiffert’s edition I identify by the number in the volume – DTB 1, etc..

Most translations of German text and quotations in the thesis proper are my own. I give both German text and translation. Where a suitable English translation already exists I use it. In Appendix 2 I use Bighley’s translations of the verbal texts of the chorales where they are available;⁹ where not I have translated the texts myself.

I wish to acknowledge the assistance of those who have helped me in the writing of this thesis. My supervisors Dr. John Kitchen and Dr. Noel O’Regan of Edinburgh University have combined to a nice degree just those qualities of encouragement and correction needed to keep the production within bounds without stifling my ideas. Dr. William Webster has cast his eye over the German-language elements of the thesis and suggested several improvements. Marjory Lobban, who has handled all my ILL requests through the University Library, finding many an obscure source for me, has been long suffering. I have been fortunate in that a number of important sources have been to hand in Scotland, in the University Libraries of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and in the National Library of Scotland. Farther afield, members of staff of

⁹ Mark S. Bighley, *The Lutheran Chorales in the Organ Works of J. S. Bach*, St. Louis, 1985.

the British Library have been unfailingly helpful, as have the staff of the *Staatsbibliothek* in Munich, the *Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek* in Weimar, and the *Landeskirchliches Archiv der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche in Bayern* in Nürnberg. I would like to express particular thanks to Harry Joelson-Strohbach, Head Librarian of the *Winterthur Bibliotheken*, for his helpfulness and hospitality in allowing me to view the photographs that Matthaei made of many of the manuscripts that have since gone missing, and also to see photocopies of many other manuscripts; this has given an exciting and unexpected twist to the thesis. I would like to thank all these people and organisations variously for permission to reproduce certain graphics in my thesis.¹⁰ While many people have offered advice, the final product, for which I must take full responsibility, is entirely my own.

Edinburgh, 6th September 2007.

¹⁰ I am asked to draw attention to the permission I have to reproduce from the Winterthur collections. These are to be referred to as 'Winterthur Libraries (Switzerland), Special Collections, Archives of the *Musikkollegium* [*Winterthur Bibliotheken, Sondersammlungen, Archiv des Musikkollegiums*]. Similarly, permission has been granted to reproduce the plates from Nbg1690 by Glasgow University Library, Department of Special Collections.

Chapter 1

The chorale collections of Erfurt and Nürnberg

1.1 Introduction

It is obvious that the melody upon which any organ chorale is based is of fundamental significance for an understanding of the piece. To a greater extent than is usually realised, however, organ chorales are both a product and an integral part of the performance of the chorales in their liturgical context. Any consideration of Pachelbel's organ chorales should therefore start from a study of the hymnody with which he worked, and its context. In this chapter of this thesis I shall explore that hymnody as a body of work. In the second and third I shall examine the performance tradition of the chorales in the liturgy, and the place of the organ chorale in that tradition.

Fortunately there are several extant hymn collections that relate directly to Pachelbel's circumstances, collections with which he would probably have worked; they are a *Tabulatur Buch*, and two hymn books, one from Erfurt, the other from Nürnberg. Pachelbel was the organist of the *Predigerkirche*, the main church in Erfurt, from 1678 until 1690. Between 1690 and 1695, when he became the organist of the *Sebalduskirche* in Nürnberg, and *de facto* director of music of the city, he was organist in two princely courts in Stuttgart and Gotha. His service in Nürnberg continued until his death in 1706. The *Weimarer Tabulatur Buch*, dating from 1704, was probably compiled under his supervision. The first task is to explore the relationships between these collections and their relationship to Pachelbel's oeuvre.

Of these sources of hymnody the one we have that is most directly related to Pachelbel is the *Weimarer Tabulatur Buch*, the full title of which is *Tabulatur Buch Geistlicher Gesänge D. Martini Lutheri und anderer gottseliger Männer Sambst bey gefügten Choral Fugen durchs gantze Jahr Allen Liebhabern des Claviers*

componiert von Johann Pachelbeln Organisten zu S. Sebald in Nürnberg 1704 [known in my discussion as Weimar1704].¹ This compilation was not printed and survives only in manuscript; it contains a large number of chorale melodies arranged with figured bass, but with no verbal texts. The first 160 or so items were written down in 1704 (two years before Pachelbel died) by the composer's eldest son, Hieronymus. The other items are in another hand, were added much later, and are not relevant to this discussion. About half of these first 160 settings are provided with a small introductory fughetta, such as might have been extemporised before a performance of the chorale. While it has been supposed that these settings, and the fugues, are the work of Pachelbel himself, and indeed they are so published today, there must be some doubt in this matter. A small number of the introductory chorale fugues are indeed the work of Pachelbel, since they are, as far as they go, identical to the organ chorales of the same name.² These, however, are few. Belotti is of the opinion that these fughettas are abbreviations of longer works, that these longer works are predominantly by pupils and associates of Pachelbel, and that the abbreviation has been done in a thoroughly unskilful way.³

The importance of this collection for us, however, does not lie in these short fughettas, but rather in the collection of chorales. While again it cannot be established whether or not the figured basses were written by Pachelbel, it is the fact that these particular chorale melodies were compiled, quite possibly under his supervision, that is of importance to us. Hieronymus Pachelbel was eventually to succeed his father as the organist of St. Sebaldus' Church in Nürnberg, but in 1704

¹ The *Weimarer Tabulatur Buch* of 1704 is Ms. Q 341 b *Thüringische Landesbibliothek*, Weimar. It is published, in part, by Peters, No. 8125a. The title means: 'Book of intabulations of spiritual songs by Doctor Martin Luther and other men blessed by God, along with attached chorale fugues, appropriate for all the seasons of the church's year, for all connoisseurs of keyboard instruments, composed by Johann Pachelbel, organist of St. Sebaldus' Church in Nuremberg, 1704'.

² The chorales in question are: *Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund*; *Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder*; *Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht*; *Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt*; *Ein' feste Burg*; *Nun komm der Heiden Heiland*; *O Lamm Gottes unschuldig*; *Vater unser im Himmelreich*; *Komm, Heiliger Geist, Herre Gott*; *In dich hab ich gehoffet, Herr*; *Dies sind die heiligen zehn Gebot*. Of these it can be said unquestionably that the versions in Weimar 1704 are, as far as they go, obviously the same piece of music as the Pachelbel organ chorales they resemble. Nevertheless of these eleven pieces four are of disputed authorship. There are many other fughettas in Weimar1704 that bear more than a passing resemblance to organ chorales by Pachelbel; who is to say that these organ chorales also were not the inspiration for a somewhat ham-fisted rearrangement for the purposes of this compilation? Those fughettas that are unquestionably paraphrases of known Pachelbel organ chorales all have the hallmarks of having been shortened to conform to some arbitrarily determined length, regardless of the logic of the opening fugal exposition.

³ Letter to the author from *Carus Verlag* of Stuttgart, quoting Belotti's views.

was the organist at Wöhrd bei Nürnberg, and he did not succeed his father immediately on the latter's death, rather succeeding his successor. We can view the collection, even if it is not by Pachelbel himself, not as the work of a new spirit in Nürnberg, but as a compendium of hymns in use at the time leading up to their being written down.

The collection is, as its title tells us, an intabulation of vocal music; it was a playing score. A number of such collections of intabulated chorales had been compiled over the previous century or more, some of them even having been printed. The most famous of these, and undoubtedly the finest, is Scheidt's *Görlitzer Tabulaturbuch*.⁴ The precise purpose of such books is not clear; were they for performance as miniature 'chorale preludes', or for hymn accompaniments? This question will be explored later, but there is little doubt in my mind that the *Weimarer Tabulatur Buch* was intended for use in accompanying the congregational singing of the chorales. It is probable that the organist did not play exactly what was on the page. The text showed the organist the melody and harmony, which would have formed the starting point for his accompaniment. It seems to me that the collection must be a compilation of the most commonly used hymn tunes, put together for the convenience of an organist who could not play these tunes from memory, who needed a text to play from, and who needed some help with improvising an introduction. The significance of the collection for us lies in which chorale melodies are to be found in it. As I shall show, almost all the melodies in the collection can be traced back to those hymn books that were in use where Pachelbel was or had been the organist. It would have been an ideal collection for someone working from those hymn books. It could also be seen as encapsulating Pachelbel's lifetime experience of the chorale.

I wrote above, 'working from those hymn books'; why the plural? Our modern idea is that a church has a uniform set of hymn books provided for the use of the congregation. That hymn book, or a version of it, is in a format that will also serve the choir and the organist. Each hymn is numbered, and the numbers of those hymns to be sung in a service are displayed on a board during the service. Such uniformity of practice was not to be found in the late seventeenth century, however. Many

⁴ Samuel Scheidt, *Das Görlitzer Tabulaturbuch*, published 1650. Modern edition, edited by Christhard Mahrenholz, Peters 4494, Frankfurt/New York/London, 1941, now out of print.

members of the congregation could still not read, and relied on memory to sing the hymns. While the pastor might have possessed a copy of the latest hymn book, even those members of the congregation who could have afforded to buy a hymn book may well have had to make do with the earlier edition, or with another hymn book altogether already in their possession. Not all hymn books had the hymns numbered, and, if the members of the congregation were not all using the same book, numbers would have been of no relevance anyway; hence the need for introductions such as the short fuguetas in the *Weimarer Tabulatur Buch*.⁵

The overall layout of the contents of the hymn books varied, though there had been a real move to standardise (purify) verbal texts and numbers of verses, so that those singing from different books and from memory would have been singing the same thing. The musical elements printed in the books varied also. Sometimes there was no music at all; sometimes a reference was made to a particular tune if a hymn were not to be sung to its own tune, or had no tune of its own. Other books had some of the hymns furnished with a melody only, or with a melody and figured bass. Often the tunes so printed were the new or unusual ones, it being assumed that the 'standard' ones would have been known. These standard tunes were often recommended in the hymn books themselves to be used for other hymns, without being printed alongside them, or indeed anywhere in the book. The most luxurious books, however, had all the tunes printed, and some even had them printed in four parts. There were, however, so many versions of even the standard tunes that no two books would have agreed, certainly in matters of rhythm and harmony, and often not even in melody.

'Hymn books' is in the plural also because it seems reasonable to presume that Pachelbel took with him, as it were, to his new appointment the books that he had used previously. It can be assumed that the two hymn books that were in use during his time as organist in Erfurt and Nürnberg respectively, *Christlich- neüvermehrt-*

⁵ Peter Williams, in *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach: Volume III, A Background*, Cambridge, 1984, p 16, discusses the novelty of all the members of the congregation being able to read, of their having the same hymn book, and of the number of the hymns being posted prominently. Williams is talking about the ducal chapel at Weimar, doubtless a special case. Kevorkian (Tanya Kevorkian, *The reception of the cantata during Leipzig church services, 1700-1750*, in *Early Music*, February 2002, pp 27-44, p 36), says: 'The use of hymnals became common after 1700 [.....] By the 1710s most people brought their own hymnals to church. From 1732 the numbers of the hymns were posted on five boards around St. Thomas's.' We can see from this that our modern arrangements were just coming into use at the time of Pachelbel's death.

und gebessertes GESANGBUCH (Erfurt, 1663), [known hereafter as Erf1663],⁶ and the *Nürnbergisches Gesang-Buch Darinnen 1230. auserlesene sowol alt als neue....* (Nürnberg 1690, first edition 1676, known hereafter as Nbg1690),⁷ had passed into general usage in the two towns concerned immediately on being printed. In this, however, they were something of an exception, but mirrored a new trend towards uniformity. The need had been felt throughout Germany for hymn books approved by the appropriate ecclesiastical authorities. All earlier hymn-book production had been undertaken as a commercial venture by the publishers. In the case of the Erfurt publication, indeed, the book was published with the authorisation of the City of Erfurt, but undoubtedly at the instigation of the clerics. The Nürnberg book had no official status; the guiding lights behind it, however, were the leading divines of the city. Not until 1699 was there an official hymn book in Nürnberg, though the one then chosen was not this one. Nevertheless, as Wölfel says, ‘such books [.....], because of their popularity with the congregations, in effect assume[d] the position of an official hymnbook’.⁸ Pachelbel would have been faced with a fair degree of uniformity in the hymns in use in the churches where he played, and the contents of these two hymn books give us a good idea of the hymns that he would have had to play.⁹

In describing the two hymn-book collections it would be as well to sketch briefly their pedigree. Both books are built around what later came to be called the *Kernlieder*, literally ‘core-songs’. This group of chorales came to represent the essence of Lutheranism, and their ‘status’ as *Kernlieder* stems from the fact of their being mostly in continuous use from Luther’s time till now. The core (as it were) of

⁶ *Christlich- neuvermehrt- und gebessertes GESANGBUCH Darinnen D. Martin Luthers und viel ande-rer Gottselig-gelehrten Leute Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen.....usw.*, Erfurt, 1663. RISM, *Das Deutsche Kirchenlied*, Bd. I, Teil 1, Bärenreiter, Kassel etc. 1975, p 327. [A newly expanded and improved Christian hymn book, in which are to be found spiritual songs and psalms by Doctor Martin Luther and other learned people blessed by God.....]

⁷ *Nürnbergisches Gesang-Buch Darinnen 1230 auserlesene sowohl alt als neue Geist-, Lehr- und Trostreiche Lieder.....usw.*, Nürnberg, 1690. RISM, DKL, *ibid*, p 408. [A hymn book from Nuremberg, with 1230 selected hymns of spiritual, didactic and comfort-bringing nature, both new and old.....]

⁸ Dieter Wölfel, *Nürnberger Gesangbuchgeschichte (1524-1791)*, Nürnberg, 1971, p 74. ‘[.....] die wegen ihrer Beliebtheit in den Gemeinden fast den Platz eines offiziellen Gesangbuches einnahmen.’

⁹ Williams imagines Bach to have had to deal with a number of hymn books at Eisenach, Arnstadt and Mühlhausen. Williams 1984, p 15.

this group is those hymns (and often tunes) written by Luther himself. But even at the beginning, when Luther was seeking ways of allowing the uneducated (i. e. non-Latinate) laity to take a full part in worship by singing hymns in their own language, he bewailed the lack of poets and musicians who could write appropriate ‘worship songs’. Besides stepping in to the breach himself, he both exhorted his fellows to write ‘psalms’ (which exhortation they heeded¹⁰), and took into use some such songs that were already in use in the Protestant communities in Switzerland and Straßburg. Thus the earliest grouping of chorales, even though it was used in the local Wittenberg community, was of national or even international provenance. Furthermore, from 1529 at the latest, Luther’s influence on the process of hymn-book production in Wittenberg had been direct. He had a close relationship with the publisher Klug, and both the contents and the ordering of the books published by this printer were decisively influenced by Luther. Although initially compiled for use in the locality of Wittenberg, these books soon became, either directly or by imitation, the blueprint for hymn books throughout Germany. At a time when the hymn was seen not only as a vehicle for worship but also as a means of teaching Lutheran orthodoxy, the ‘Wittenberg seal of approval’ was important, and was usually alluded to in the books’ title. Babst’s 1545 hymn book,¹¹ though actually published in Leipzig, was a reprinting of Klug’s 1543 Wittenberg book, his last, was the last in the line of Wittenberg books, and was also the last with which Luther was involved.¹² The book had by then assumed a national rather than local significance, and its layout and contents were to determine hymn-book production throughout Germany for a century and a half. It was the contents of Babst’s book that became the basis of the *Kernlieder*. In the period of great creativity in hymn writing during the first century of the Reformation, the grouping of *Kernlieder* received a constant

¹⁰ Luther, in his Preface to *Formulae Missae et Communionis per Ecclesia Vuittembergensi* (1523) states: ‘I wish that we had as many songs as possible in the vernacular which the people could sing during mass, immediately after the Gradual and also after the Sanctus and Angus Dei. For who doubts that originally all the people say these which now only the choir sings..... But poets [Speratus, in his translation of the Latin adds “and musicians”] are wanting among us, or not yet known, who could compose evangelical and spiritual songs, as St. Paul calls them, worthy to [b]e used in the church of God. [...] I mention this to encourage German poets to compose evangelical hymns for us.’ Quoted in translation in Robin A. Leaver, *The Liturgy and Music: A Study of the Use of the Hymn in Two Liturgical Traditions*, *Grove Liturgical Study No. 6*, Bramcote 1976, p 14.

¹¹ [I] *Geystliche Lieder. Mit einem neuen vorrhede D. Mart. Luth.usw.*; and [II] *Psalmen und Geistliche liederusw.*, Leipzig 1545. RISM, DKL, *ibid*, p 28.

¹² *Geistliche Lieder zu Wittemberg Anno 1543*. RISM, DKL, *ibid*, p 26.

stream of additions. The work of Nickolaus Herman (1480-1561), Luther's contemporary, of Johann Heermann (1585-1647) ['the most significant poet between Luther and Gerhardt'¹³], of lesser but nonetheless significant figures such as Bartholomäus Ringwaldt (1530-1613), and then of the Crüger/Gerhardt circle, swelled the number of hymns that became widely used throughout Germany.

The writing of chorales suffered an eclipse towards the middle of the eighteenth century; this was the result of a combination of the emphasis of pietistic thought on personal as opposed to communal devotion, and a change in poetical and musical styles. The concept of the *Kernlied* emerged only in the nineteenth century and was always a historical one, describing a historically remote corpus of hymns still widely in use, but no longer being created. The concept embodies those orthodox hymns in general use from the time of their writing for some time into the future. Such a grouping is naturally not cut and dried; it changed to a certain extent with the times; hymns that undoubtedly were *Kernlieder* (*An Wasserflüssen Babylon; Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder; Ach wie elend ist unsre Zeit; Vor deinem Thron* and many more), in that they were in widespread use for a century or more, and were included in all the major hymn collections, did nevertheless disappear from use. Even though most of the hymns Dempsey¹⁴ posits as being *Kernlieder* in 1580 appeared in a hymn book published in 1855, *Deutsches Evangelisches Kirchen-Gesangbuch: In 150 Kernlieder*, a collection of what were by then understood to be *Kernlieder*, not all did. And though most were also retained in the 1950 *Evangelisches Kirchen Gesangbuch* (EKG1950), this publication was a very definite historical exercise; the forms that these *Kernlieder* assumed in that book were as close as possible to their original form, and discarded all the transformations that the hymns had undergone in the meanwhile. Even so, despite this variability, the later idea of a more-or-less consistent group of 'famous' hymns describes a real situation. The concept represents a reality that churchgoers of all times would have recognised.

¹³ Preface to *Evangelisches Kirchen-Gesangbuch*, Berlin, 1950. (EKG1950)

¹⁴ For the purposes of my research I have accepted Dempsey's list in her dissertation, *Geistliche Gesangbuch, Geistreiche Gesangbuch; The Development of the Confessional Unity in the Evangelical Hymnbook 1524-1587*, Lincoln (USA), 2003, pp 221-225, and the Stuttgart hymn book of 1855, *Deutsches Evangelisches Kirchen-Gesangbuch: In 150 Kernlieder*, Stuttgart, 1855, to define those hymns that were in 1690 *Kernlieder* (lit. core-songs). Those hymns that Pachelbel knew as *Kernlieder* were a composite of these two lists; those hymns that had achieved this status by 1690, and those that only achieved it afterwards, but were in use, on their way to becoming *Kernlieder*, in Pachelbel's time. I give a list of the hymns in both lists in Appendix 2, p 307.

The Erfurt hymn book of 1663 was a lineal descendant of Babst's 1545 book. Even though it had 422 items, while Babst's had only 128, it was really a publication of the *Kernlieder* with local and contemporary additions, some of which were to become *Kernlieder* in their turn. The Nürnberg book on the other hand comes from a slightly different tradition. The idea of this type of book was to contain within one cover all the worthwhile Lutheran hymns. Wolffen's 1569 Frankfurt hymn book is the first in this line.¹⁵ Such so-called universal hymn books were obviously much larger than Babst's; they also tended, ironically, to contain many more hymns of a local provenance. The most famous and influential of this type of hymn book was Johann Crüger's *Praxis pietatis melica* (PPM1647),¹⁶ first published in Berlin in 1647 (though this edition is no longer extant). The success of this book (Crüger composed of hymn melodies rather than verse), and the personal association of Crüger with Paul Gerhardt, led to the book's becoming a semi-official vehicle for the new hymns being written by Gerhardt and his circle. These hymns were at first 'local', but the quality of them, allied with the prestige and wide dissemination of the hymn book in which they appeared, led to many of them becoming *Kernlieder*.¹⁷ Crüger's book also included those hymns of high quality written in the time between Luther's generation and his own, which had become widely known. This publication became a benchmark for hymn-book production and continued to be reprinted in ever larger editions into the middle of the eighteenth century. While the vast majority of the hymns in *Praxis pietatis melica* are in the Nürnberg hymn book, the fact that it has 1230 hymns, compared with around 500 in Crüger's book, is because a majority of the hymns in the Nürnberg book, were by local writers. Even so the book can be seen as 'a representative cross-section through Lutheran hymnody from the beginning of the reformation through to the beginning of pietism'.¹⁸

¹⁵ Johann Wolff(en), *Kirchengesäng Aus dem Wittembergischen vnd allen andern den besten Gesangbüchern usw...* Frankfurt am Main, 1569. RISM, DKL *ibid*, p 67.

¹⁶ *PRAXIS PIETATIS MELICA. Das ist:usw.*, Berlin, 1656, 1690. RISM *ibid*, pp 299 & 409.

¹⁷ Kendrick describes Gerhardt's hymn writing as exhibiting a 'technically conservative but affectively audacious textual style....' *Sacred songs and oratorios* in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, editors Tim Carter and John Butt, Cambridge, 2005, p 351.

¹⁸ Dieter Wölfel *Nürnberger Gesangbuchgeschichte 1524-1791*, Nürnberg, 1971, p 80. 'Während das "Nürnbergische" Gesangbuch gleichsam einen repräsentativen Querschnitt durch das lutherische Lied von den Anfängen der Reformation (Luther, Melanchthon) bis zum Beginn des Pietismus (Spener) gibt, [...]"

1.2 The Erfurt hymn book of 1663

The Erfurt hymn book, as already mentioned, was printed with the authorisation of the city government, which fact is alluded to on the title page. It would have been in use for fifteen years when Pachelbel took up his appointment in Erfurt.¹⁹ The book is a sumptuous production, in duodecimo format; the copy I saw (in the *Staatsbibliothek* in Munich) is bound in red leather with a brass clasp, the edges of the pages gilded. The cover is embossed back and front with a pattern, the spine with gilded decorations. There are no words visible on cover or spine. The Preface, in which the purpose of the hymn book is set out, was written by the senior minister of the city, M. Nicolaus Stenger, who was the Pastor of the *Kaufmannskirche*. The contents are described at the beginning, great store having been set by how the book was put together. As was usual with books in the Babst tradition, the first part contained those hymns proper to the church's year. The second contained metrical Psalms. Though this section was by no means a complete Psalter, many psalms were duplicated; the intention was to collect the best metrical-psalm versions available. The third section contains the *Catechismuslieder*, that is, those chorales concerned with the church's teachings, beliefs and sacraments, as well as hymns proper to occasions concerning these things, such as baptism and confirmation. The largest section (177 out of a total of 422 items) is the fourth. This part is sub-divided into eight sub-sections, concerned mostly with the day-to-day living of the Christian life, but having two larger sub-sections at the end, one for funeral and burial hymns, the other for hymns about the resurrection and last judgement. There are one or two unusual items at the end, including a six-part song of thanksgiving for the Peace of Münster (1648), as well as benedictions, and the Litany. There is an alphabetical index of first lines which gives the page numbers of the hymns, there being no hymn numbers as such. There are no illustrations in the book, nor is there a concluding prayer section. There is a list of corrigenda at the end. The quality of the paper and the standard of the printing are high; there are relatively few misprints, and the index agrees with the contents. The print is Gothic, except for anything in the Latin language, which always appears in Carolingian type. The music is also printed to the

¹⁹ There is a relatively high number of surviving copies of this publication, but none in Great Britain. RISM DKL, p 327.

same high standard, something not to be taken for granted in hymn books at this time.

Each hymn in the book is described in a title, often in detail, though not consistently; usually the information contained in the description ascribes the author of the verse, and suggests a tune if there is not one printed. Thus for the first hymn, *Nun komm der Heyden Heyland*, we are told that it comes from the Latin *Veni redemptor gentium*, that this in turn is by Ambrose, that the verse is by Luther. The authorship of the tunes is never ascribed. Sometimes the purpose or occasion of the hymn is described in the title (in time of trouble, in time of thunder, a morning hymn, and so forth); sometimes a value judgement is made (*ein schöner Pfingst Gesang* – a beautiful Whitsuntide hymn). Frequently it says that a hymn is ‘an old hymn’. There is a surprising number of Latin hymns, usually with a German version immediately following. Where it was usual to sing the Latin and German interwoven (*Puer natus in Bethlehem* with *Ein Kind geboren zu Bethlehem*, for example) the hymns are printed alongside each other. There are several Latin plainsong chants. These are often but not always given in a German version. Where a German hymn is a Latin one translated or transcribed, this is always stated; ‘*verdeutscht durch DML*’ is a common ascription.²⁰

There is a sumptuous provision of tunes in the book, the commonly used ones also being printed. Most hymns have a tune printed above them; others have tunes prescribed for them, tunes almost all of which actually appear somewhere in the book, the page number being given. Normally only the melody is printed, using either soprano or violin clef. Bar lines are used to show the ends of lines (of words), but not consistently. Key signatures conform to modern practice. If an initial section is to be repeated there is no repeat mark sign at the beginning; if a final section, there is often no sign at the end. The unit of time (tactus) is often the semibreve, sometimes the breve; the shorter rests take the form of a little hook that functions as either quaver or crotchet rest (or perhaps a dot), and these are often almost illegible. Breves are joined together to show a ligature, while slurs are used to join notes of smaller denomination. Final notes are usually printed as a long, regardless of whether this is the actual value of the note, which, though probably of indeterminate length,

²⁰ Put into German by Doctor Martin Luther.

would rarely have lasted for eight minim beats. Some more modern tunes use the crotchet as the unit of time. While many tunes are in the so-called iso-metric form, many are still in the mensural versions.²¹ Most commonly known hymns have the melody now usually associated with them, though this is not always the case.

Of the 422 items in Erf1663, 159 were in the 1656 edition of *Praxis pietatis melica* (PPM1656); a further 14 were to be included in PPM1690. Of these 173 items', 155 are either *Kernlieder* or their equivalent.²² 12 items of these 173 were written by lesser known authors, and 8 are by completely unknown authors, or are anonymous. (Table 1.1)

Table 1.1

173 items in Erf1663 that appeared in PPM1656 and PPM 1690

<i>Kernlieder</i> or equivalent in PPM, including those in PPM 1690 (in brackets).	Hymns by relatively unknown authors in PPM, including those in PPM 1690 (in brackets)	Hymns either anonymous or by almost completely unknown authors
159 (14)	10 (2)	8

Of the 249 items in Erf1663 that were not in PPM1656, 46 are to be found in one or more of the earlier general hymn collections that I studied.²³ All 46 of these hymns could be considered as belonging in the category *Kernlieder* or equivalent.

The remaining 203 items of those 214 not found in PPM were not in any of the

²¹ In the iso-rhythmic style a succession of similar-length notes are accented unvaryingly weak-strong; the beginning and ending notes of each line may be lengthened, or the beginning note shortened. In the mensural style there was considerable rhythmic variety; there was no regular barring, the accentuation of the words determining the metrical structure of the melody. See page 35 for a fuller description of this, and a discussion of its significance.

²² By equivalent I mean: were later to be *Kernlieder*; have survived until EKG1950; are by authors of *Kernlieder*; or for some reason did not become *Kernlieder* but are of equivalent artistic merit; are chant to Latin words or German translation of Latin words.

²³ The collections I studied were (using RISM DKL signatures as appropriate): Lbl Nbg1524; MiWalt1524; Slüter's 1525 Rostock hymn book (not in RISM because there is no music in it); Bohemian Brethren hymn books of 1531 and 1538 [BBr1531, BBr 1538]; Klug1533 [WitK 1533]; Babst1545 [LpzBa 1545]; Wolffen1569 [Ffm 1569], Württemberg 1583 [Würt 1583]; KantOsi 1586; Mi Eler 1588; Hamburg1604 [Kant Hmbg 1604]; Hassler1608 [Kant Haßl 1608]; Kant Schein 1627; Kant Fran Me-P 1631; Scheidt1650 [Görlitzer Tabulaturbuch]; PPM 1656 [PraxFfm 1656]; Erfurt1663 [Erf 1663]; Nbg 1676; Brem 1680; Nbg 1690; Weimar Tabulaturbuch 1704.

major collections I studied that appeared before Erf1663. These hymns represent a considerable influx of ‘new blood’, as it were.

Of these 203, 76 are by almost completely unknown or anonymous authors, and most of these are not to be found in any later collection. They are those hymns that the compilers presumably thought might be of interest, but that turned out to be ephemeral and disappeared from use.

71 of these 203 are *Kernlieder* or equivalent, and many of these, particularly those by N. Herman, had been published in earlier non-general hymn collections. The majority of hymns in this group are by major authors. Such names as Ringwaldt, Rist, Capito, Opitz, Heermann, Herman and Melchior Franck are well represented here. Less famous but nevertheless important figures like Altenberg and Helmbold are also well represented in this group. Most extraordinary is the fact that some very well known hymns appear here. Thus Altenberg’s *Herr Gott, nun schleuß den Himmel auf* and *Lob sei Gott in des Himmels Thron*, and Wilhelm the Duke of Saxe-Weimar’s *Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend*, all of which are represented in J. S. Bach’s oeuvre, were, as it were, new and relatively unknown hymns when this collection was put together.

Also published earlier were those Psalm settings by Becker (12) and Lobwasser (1). These of course had already appeared in their respective Psalters, but had not found their way into significant general collections.

The remainder of these 203 hymns, 43 in number, are by lesser authors, not necessarily local to Erfurt. These hymns either disappeared from use, or reappeared in later collections, including not a few in Nbg1690. (Table 1.2)

Table 1.2

249 items in Erf1663 that did not appear in PPM1656

<i>Kernlieder</i> or equivalent hymns appearing in earlier general collections	Hymns by almost completely unknown authors	<i>Kernlieder</i> or equivalent hymns not appearing in earlier general collections	Psalm settings by Becker and Lobwasser	Hymns by relatively unknown authors, or anonymous
46	76	71	12 and 1	43

Analysed in a different way, we can say that of the total of 422 hymns in Erf1663, 108 are *Kernlieder* from Luther's time, of which 39 are by Luther; another 23 had become *Kernlieder* by 1855, and a further 16, though not ever being classed as *Kernlieder*, survived in use until EKG1950.²⁴ Further to this, 28 were earlier hymns written by authors who had written *Kernlieder* (many of these being hymns from the Bohemian Brethren) and 70 were by major authors who flourished in the generations between Luther and Crüger, and most of whom had written *Kernlieder*. Indeed, it is hard to see why many of these hymns did not become classified as *Kernlieder*.²⁵ But most remarkable, given that so many hymns from PPM found their way into the collection, is the fact that only ten hymns from the total can be said to have sprung from the Crüger/Gerhardt circle. It must be said, of course, that the comparison is with the PPM1656 edition, and that Crüger and Gerhardt did not begin their association until 1657.²⁶

Viewed generally, we can say that this book is typical for one of its size. It contains most of the *Kernlieder*; many of the hymns from the generations after Luther that were to become *Kernlieder*; some good contemporary hymns that were to become widely known; a sprinkling of purely local hymns; and some that were popular and known nationally at the time but have since disappeared from use.

²⁴ My view is that the survival of hymns from this period that were not then *Kernlieder* into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is a sign of their having that quality (whether musical or literary) which made them popular; I accept that not all those hymns that 'deserved' to be *Kernlieder* were given that accolade. The choice of which hymns to set that Pachelbel made was not confined to hymns that were *Kernlieder* in his day; what is perhaps remarkable is that many of these that he did set later became *Kernlieder*. It is possible to see this as a 'vindication' of the choice, whether this choice sprang from his preference or that of the ecclesiastical authorities. Likewise the choice of hymns printed in the hymn books might be seen to be 'vindicated' by the survival of hymns that were not *Kernlieder* at that time into modern collections.

²⁵ *Wir Christenleut; Ermuntre dich, mein schwacher Geist; Hilft mir Gottes Güte preisen; O Mensch, beweine dein Sünde groß; Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder; Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund; Wies Gott gefällt* are just a few of these hymns that were so consistently in use and are of such quality that it is hard to see why they are not '*Kernlieder*'.

²⁶ My classification is obviously somewhat arbitrary. *Kernlieder* and chants are unambiguous, as are those hymns by Gerhard and his school. The dividing line between the largest group of significant hymns of national significance and the 120 by lesser authors or of only local interest is obviously more arbitrary. But this gives a reasonably clear idea of how the book is put together.

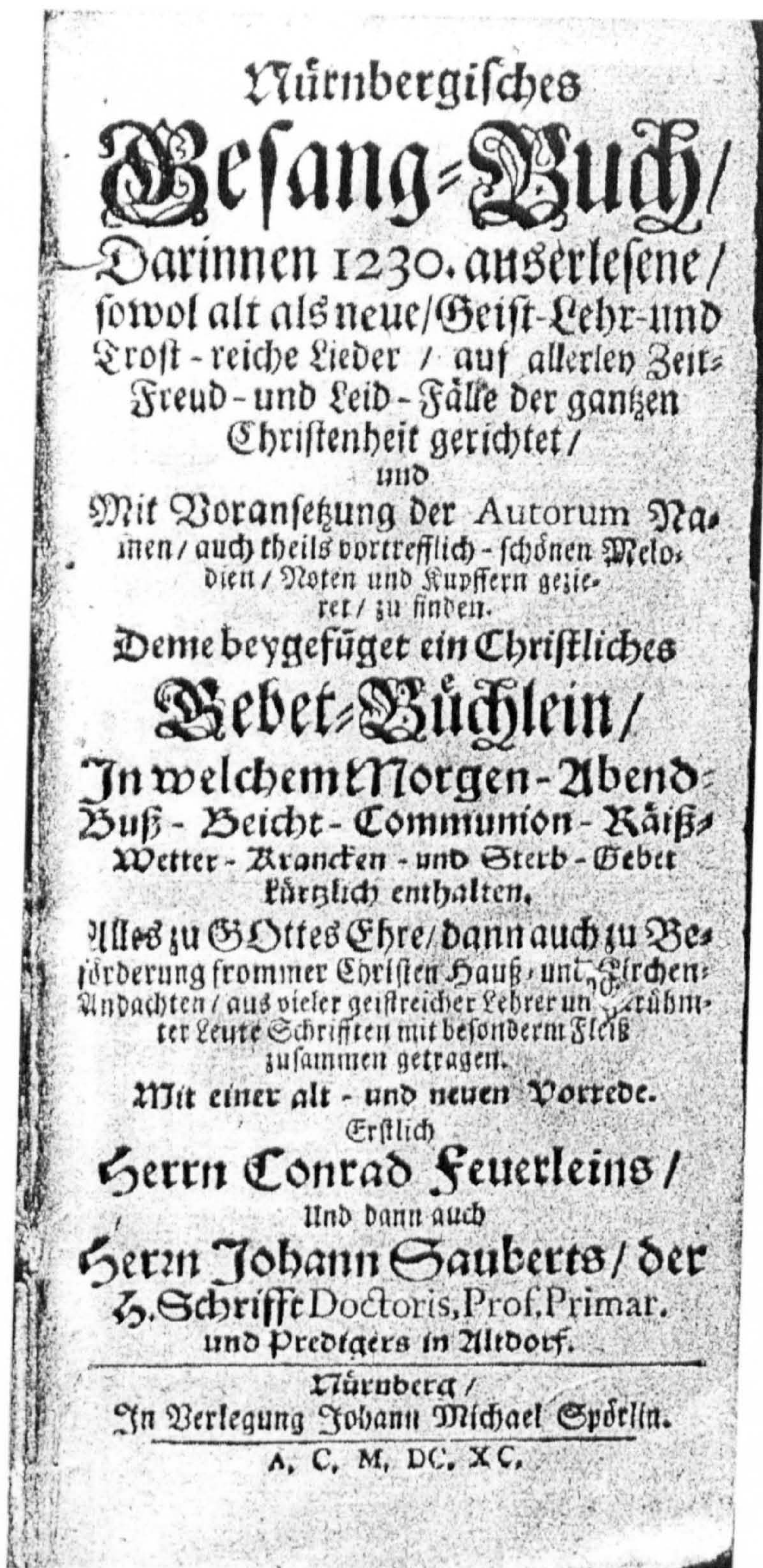


Plate 1 Title page of the 1690 Nürnberg hymn book, showing the names of Conrad Feuerlein and Johann Saubert.

(Reproduced by kind permission of Glasgow University Library, Department of Special Collections)

1.3 The Nürnberg hymn book of 1690

The *Nürnbergisches Gesang-Buch* of 1690 is one of the most extravagant hymn books from the last quarter of the seventeenth century. With its enormous number of hymns, this duodecimo-format volume is somewhat unwieldy. The copy I saw (in Glasgow University Library) is in plain black leather covers with brass clasps; it does not seem quite as sumptuous as the Erfurt book, but this belies the contents. Published originally in a slightly smaller edition in 1676, it was dedicated to the Nürnberg City Council. This was no doubt partly a ploy to try and get the book recognised as the official hymn book for the city, a ploy that failed. Nevertheless, as Wölfel says, ‘the two extensive hymn books (he means the two editions of this same book) [.....] drove out all other hymn books from Nürnberg’s services’.²⁷

Another avowed reason behind the dedication was, however, to recognise the work of poets who were subjects or servants of the city by bringing together their work in one book. This work had been either spread around in other collections, or had not appeared at all. Thus although the book was an attempt at a ‘universal’ hymn book, encompassing all of worth that had been written since Luther’s time, it was also deliberately a local publication. An organisation called the *Pegnesischer Blumenorden* (a fanciful title meaning the flower order of the Pegnitz [the river that Nürnberg lies on]) had been founded in Nürnberg in imitation of the Florentine Camerata; its purpose, following the precepts of the Silesian poet Martin Opitz, was to make German a fit language for poetry. Under a number of leaders this order, the statutes of which emphasised the role of poetry in the praise of God, exerted an overriding influence in hymn writing in Nürnberg for most of the seventeenth century. Most of the local poets represented in the book were members of the order.

The preface to the 1690 book is by Conrad Feuerlein, preacher in St. Sebaldus Church (he preached the sermon when Pachelbel was installed there as organist), but the preface to the earlier edition is also retained. There is a very detailed table of contents, as well as a list of the authors of the verse (though this is incomplete and rather cryptic – see Plates 2 and 3, pages 20 and 21). The general layout of the contents of the book is somewhat similar to that in the Erfurt book. In the 1690

²⁷ Wölfel 1971, p 76. ‘[...] den zwei umfangreichen Gesangbüchern, die im letztem Viertel des 17. Jhdts. alle anderen Liederbücher aus Nürnbergs Gottesdiensten verdrängten.’

edition the first part contains the seasonal chorales, but also other occasional hymns of a more mundane nature, such as hymns for times of the day, seasons, days of the week, and so forth. While the second section does contain the Psalms, it also contains hymns with pietistic leanings focussing on the adoration of Jesus. The third section has the Catechism hymns. The large fourth section that we saw in the Erfurt book is here divided up. The fourth section in the Nürnberg book has hymns about the Christian life and its possibilities for spiritual transformation, but also the relationship between worshipper, church, and the civil authorities. The fifth treats of times of trouble with hymns of complaint and solace. The sixth deals with the vanity of human life, of death and resurrection, and the last judgement. The seventh section concerns heavenly joy, hell, suffering and eternity. The hymns in the appendix, which is almost a hundred pages long, being the additional material over and above the 1676 edition (which had 1160 hymns), cover the same topics as the rest of the book.²⁸ An alphabetical index of first lines gives page numbers only, despite the fact that the hymns have numbers. The rubrics and titles that appeared in the list of contents appear in the text of the book. Each hymn, however, is not given a description. Each hymn is either ascribed, or described as anonymous, or 'author unknown'. Ascriptions are not always accurate, and the authorship of many hymns described here as 'anonymous' is now undisputed. There is a prayer book appended at the end of the book. Besides the hymns there are fine woodcuts scattered throughout the book, with poems associated with them. Despite the fact that the highest standards of editorship seem to have been applied to the book, there are many errors. Apart from the fact that a number of hymns are printed identically in two places in the book, some are wrongly numbered, as are sometimes the verses within a hymn. The index is neither completely comprehensive nor totally accurate.

Musically the book is not as sumptuous as the Erfurt book. The 1676 edition has only 177 of its 1160 hymns furnished with a tune; these are almost all newer, and thus presumably less well known hymns. Many a hymn has no tune recommended, perhaps because it was very well known, though some less familiar hymns also have

²⁸ Apart from the addition of six hymns over the first two sections, the contents of both books are identical until the appendix, all of which is new material.

no tune prescribed.²⁹ Often the term *In eigener Melodey* or *Im bekannten Melodey* [using its own tune, using the well know tune] is used, even when there is no tune that was usual or well known for that particular hymn. Many of the tunes, though not all, are ascribed, but only by initials. Some of these are known, especially the five contemporary Nürnberg organists Heinrich Schwemmer, Johann Löhner, Paul Heinlein, Georg Caspar Wecker and Konrad Feuerlein, all of whom provided many of the newer tunes. JHS, being Johann Hermann Schein, also appears very frequently, as do Johann Staden, a well known Nürnberg organist from earlier in the century, and Johann Crüger.

The tunes, printed in the soprano clef, are provided with a figured bass line. Although there are always time signatures the use of bar lines is not consistent, these being used rather to indicate the end of a line of words. More modern tunes, the aria-like Baroque melodies, use bar lines more systematically, the earlier ones less so, these also sometimes using the semibreve as the unit beat. The underlay between tune and bass is often poor, and to save space the end of many a hymn tune and its bass are printed on the same stave, one after the other, a large B showing where the bass line starts. Tunes are often on different pages from their hymn, and there are often page turns within a tune. It is hard to guess for whom this musical layout was intended; the bass would have been unnecessary for the congregation (though sometimes they did sing in parts³⁰), insufficient for the choir to sing in four parts, and inconvenient (with its poor underlay, inconvenient page turns and bizarre space-saving arrangements) for the organist. Perhaps the composers of these new tunes felt it was important that the implied harmonies should be specified, though there are disagreements between, for instance, Crüger's or Schein's own harmonisations of their own hymns, and those found here.

²⁹ Williams draws attention to the fact that Mattheson reports that the organist T. Volkmar failed to get some chorales melodies published in Nürnberg. Since 'the melodies were sung in differing versions even in the churches of one and the same town (something that happens in Nürnberg with many a hymn), it [publishing them] was not to be risked without anxiety lest the publisher lose by it.' Maybe this is why the well known chorale melodies were not published in Nbg1690. Williams 1984, p 17.

³⁰ Though Williams (Williams 1984) writes of the congregation in St. John's Church, Lüneberg, singing in four parts, it seems that the women and men sat separately. In St. Thomas' and St. Nicholas' Churches in Leipzig, for instance, in the first half of the 18th century the men sat in the balconies, the women on the ground floor. Tanya Kevorkian, The reception of the cantata during Leipzig church services, 1700-1750, in *Early Music*, February 2002, pp 27-44, p 28. Possibly the arrangement of Nbg1690 allowed the men to sing a bass part. But how then did they manage when there was no tune printed?

Of the circa 1230 hymns in the book, 102 are *Kernlieder* in Dempsey's list, an additional 42 hymns are in the list of *Kernlieder* from 1855. A further 34 that survived into EKG1950 are also here. Thus a grand total of 188 are *Kernlieder* in the broadest sense. The book thus absorbs the tradition of the Babst hymn book and does what it set out to do; that is, to include the best of hymnody since Luther.

319 of the 1230 hymns in Nbg1690 (Table 1.3, page 19) are in PPM1656 (PPM1656 had a total of 500 hymns in it). A further 82 are in PPM1690, making a grand total of 401 in common between these two hymn books that were printed in the same year. Wölfel has pointed out that the hymns by Gerhardt (76 in the 1776 edition) outnumber those of Luther and that he, Gerhardt, is the most represented author. Rist comes third. Thus the book has absorbed the Crüger/Gerhardt tradition that made the later editions of PPM so characteristic. It also confirms how prescient and perceptive the choice of Crüger was in PPM1656, that such a large proportion of his selection remained current.

188 of the hymns in Nbg1690 are in Erfl663. Of these 188, 92 were *Kernlieder* in 1690 [Dempsey's list], 20 in 1855 [Stuttgart].

That Nbg1690 is such an enormous cornucopia of hymns is accounted for by the fact of the inclusion of so many local hymns, as was intended by the compilers. But while the majority of the 742 hymns that make their first appearance in a general collection in Nbg1690 are indeed of local provenance, there are also many that were written by poets from elsewhere in Germany, some of them significant authors.³¹ But much of this art, even when of high quality, was ephemeral. While it is no surprise that the work of the *Pegnesischen Blumenorden* soon disappeared from use, it is sobering to realise for just how short a time many of the hymns of even the famous writers remained in use. Nevertheless a consideration of the nature of much of this poetry will reveal why this is so. The absurd over-provision of hymns for ordinary occasions (evening, morning, every day of the week, for all [temporal] seasons, for every sort of weather [We thank you for the rain....We thank you that it has stopped raining]), for every imaginable crisis or disaster, strikes us as an absurdity that a later more sober age rectified by neglect. Many hymns also expressed the sentiments of

³¹ Such important figures as Rist, Hermann, Heermann, J. Franck, Silesius, Thilo, Dach, Homburg, Olearius, Clausnitzer and Gryphius are well represented in the book with hymns that do not occur in the earlier collections examined by the author.

pietism, at the time much in the ascendant. When the religious fashion changed these overly-emotional works disappeared from use.³² Further, many newer hymns were parodies of older ones, written either because the authors thought they could do better, or to take advantage of a good tune. It is no surprise that it was the older ‘originals’ that survived in use in the face of these imitations.

Table 1.3

Provenance of 1230 items in Nbg1690

Chorales in PPM1656	Chorales in PPM1690	Chorales in Erf1663	Chorales in earlier general collections	Chorales in no earlier general collection
319	82 (more)	188 (of which 155 in PPM1656, 14 in PPM1690)	488	742

³² What pietism meant for musicians is neatly summed up by Peter Williams (in *J. S. Bach: A Life in Music*, Cambridge, 2007, pp 93 foll.; ‘The Halle Audition.’). An appointment to the post of organist at Halle following the death of Handel’s teacher Zachow in 1712 might have seemed an attractive proposition for Bach; he was having internal political difficulties at Weimar at the time, and the organ that was being built in Halle (under his supervision) was amongst the largest in Germany, whereas the instrument in Weimar was less impressive. Nevertheless, after applying for the job, auditioning for it and being offered it, Bach turned it down. Halle was at that time a centre of pietism, which had been banned in Saxony; the founding of the University at Halle was a response to this. Bach’s contract would have required him among other things ‘to accompany the chorales chosen by the minister “slowly” and “without special decoration”’. (*ibid*, p 97) Williams sees the whole tenor of the approach to the music at Halle as emphasising the ‘affective’ rather than the intellectual, opines that Bach would have had little opportunity to write the type of cantata that he was later to provide for Leipzig, but posits the idea that the *Orgelbüchlein* chorales were an attempt to write chorales that, used either as preludes or as accompaniments, would have been appropriate for Halle. Williams presumes that Bach turned the position down chiefly for religious reasons, or rather because the religious situation in Halle would have put constraints on his composing that he would have found unacceptable.

For a fuller note about pietism see Appendix 5, page 394.



**Register / in welchem die Namen
der Hr. Hr. Auctorum, so die Lieder
gedichtet / enthalten.**

Albert Heinrich.	Capito VVolfgang,
Alberti M. Paul Mar-	Caselius D. Martin,
tin,	Claufsritzer M, Tobias
Alberus D. Erasmus.	Cnophius Andreas.
Albin Johann Georg.	Crüger Johann.
M. A. Z. Marggrav	Cuno Christian Frider.
Albrecht zu Brand.	Dach Simon.
Altenburg M. Johann.	Dachstein VVolfgang.
Angelus Johann.	Davidß Harpfenspiet.
Anna Sophia Land-	Dedekind Constant i-
gräfin zu Hessen.	nus Christianus,
Arnd Johann.	Derfchau D. Bernhard.
Arnold Christoph.	Dilherr Joh. Michael.
Arnschwanger M Joh.	Dresdensis Petrus.
Christoph.	Dürr Michael.
Artemedes Sebastian.	Eberus D. Paulus.
Balduin M. Theophilus.	Faber Joh. Ludov.
Beckh Joseph.	Fetzerlein Conrad.
Beer Joh. Christoph.	Fischer M. Christoph.
Berlich M. Paul Theo-	Flemming D. Paul.
philus.	Flitner Johann.
Bertholdi Christian.	Förtich Basilius.
Berulius Christian.	Francisci Erasmus.
Bidenbach VVilhelms.	Franck Johann.
2 Bircken Sigismundus.	Franck Melchior.
Bohemus Martin.	Franck Michael.
Böhme David.	Frentzel M. Johann.
Bonus Herman.	A. F. Aharverus
Bornmeister M Simon.	Fritschius,
Brechmius Christian.	Gerhard D. Johann.
Brunchorst Christoph.	Gerhard Paul.
Buchholz Andr. Heint.	Gerlach Nicolaus.
) () (Geuz

Plate 2 Index of authors of the hymns in the 1690 Nürnberg hymn book.

Register der Authorum.

Geuder M. Johann.
 Gigas M. Johann.
 Goldelius Johann.
 Graff Simon.
 Greiff Friderich.
 Greiter Matthaus.
 Gietgen Adam.
 Gryphius Andreas.
 Gryphius Christian, F.
 Grolsmann Burckhard
 Guenzius Christian.
 Hadewig Johann.
 Hagius Petrus.
 Händel M. Gottfried.
 Harsdörffer Georg Phil.
 Hartmann Zacharias.
 Hegenwald Erhardus.
 Heyden Sebaldu.
 Heinius M. Martin.
 Held Heinrich.
 Helmbold M. Ludov.
 Herberger Valerius.
 Hermann Johann.
 Hermann Nicolaus.
 Hesenthaler Magnus.
 Höfel D. Johann.
 Homburg Ernestus
 Christian.
 Hubertus Conrad.
 J. A.
 J. A. P.
 Jäger M. Christoph.
 J. G. S.
 Janus Martin.
 J. F. H. Z. s. Johann
 Friderich/ Herzog
 zu Sachsen.
 J. W. H. Z. s. Johann
 Wilhelm/ Herzog
 zu Sachsen.
 Ingolstatter Andre.
 Jonas D. Justus.
 Kaldenbach Christoph.
 Keimann M. Christian.
 Keslerus D. Andreas.
 Kindermann M. Balib.
 Kirchenbitter C.
 Klajus Johann.
 Krüger Adam.
 Kohlroß Johann.
 L. B.
 à Lankilch Michael.
 Lehmann M. Michael
 Theophilus.
 Leo Johann.
 Lilius M. Georg.
 Lischkovius M. Salom.
 L. L.
 Lobvasser Ambrosius.
 à Löwenstern Apelles.
 Lutherus D. Martin.
 Lütkeimann D. Joach.
 M. C. F. N. P. M.
 M. G. D.
 M. R. H. Maria Regia
 na Hungaria.
 Marschalck Joachim
 Vilhelm.
 Matthesius M. Johan.
 Melanchthon Philipp.
 Meyfart D. Joh. Matsh.
 Müller D. Heint.
 Müllmann M. Johann.
 Mylius Georg.
 Mitternacht M. Joh.
 Sebastian.
 Moller Martin.
 Mosel Vilfgang.
 M. Z.
 Neumareck Georg.
 Nico.

Register der Autorum.

Nicolai Jeremias.
 Nicolai D. Philippus.
 Oeler Ludovicus.
 Olearius D. Johann.
 Olearius M. Joh. Gottfr.
 Olter Vilhelm.
 Omeis M. Magn. Dan.
 Opitz Martin.
 Ostermann N.
 Pappus D. Johann.
 Pauli Joachim.
 Peck M. David.
 Poliander Johann.
 Pratorius M. Benjam.
 Prüfchenck Christian.
 Frid. à Lindenbosen.
 Rauner M. Narcissus.
 Reimann Georg.
 Reinhart Luc. Frider.
 Reusner Adam.
 Richter Gregorius.
 Riedner M. Joh. Ulrich.
 Rinckart M. Martin.
 Ringwald Barthol.
 Rist Johann.
 Ritter Jacob.
 P. R. D. Röber D. Paul.
 Rüde M. Joh. Jacob.
 Sacer Georg. Vilhelm.
 Sachs Johann.
 Sals Stephan.
 Saubertus M. Joh. P.
 Saubertus D. Joh. P.
 Schein Joh. Hermann.
 Schererzius Sigismund
 Schmuck D. Vincent.
 Schottel D. Joh. Georg.
 Schuppius D. J. Balch.
 à Schveinitz David.
 Schwämlein G. G.
 Schventer M. Jacob.
 Selneccerus D. Nicol.
 Siber Justus.
 Siegfried Johann.
 Spener D. Philip Jacob.
 Spengler Lazarus.
 Speratus Paulus.
 Stoberlein Joh. Leonh.
 Stegmann D. Josua.
 à Stöcken M. Christian.
 Stölzlin M. Bonifac.
 Thilo Valentin.
 Titius Christoph.
 Titz Joh. Petrus.
 Treuer M. Gottlieb.
 Unglenck M. Andr.
 Vogel Johann.
 Vogther Heinrich.
 Vollbracht Ludov. D.
 Walther D. Michael.
 Weber M. Georg.
 Weber M. Paulus.
 Wegelein M. Josua.
 Weingärtner Sigism.
 Weiss Michael.
 Weissel Georg.
 Werner Georg.
 Weselovius Christoph.
 Wiesenmeyer Burch.
 Wolderus T.
 Wülffer Daniel.
 à Zelen Philip.
 Ziegenspeck.
 Zwick D. Johann.

):(): (ii Regio

Plate 3 Second and third pages of the index of authors in Nbg1690.
 (Reproduced by kind permission of Glasgow University Library, Department of Special Collections)



Plate 4 Wood-cut illustration from Nbg1690.

(Reproduced by kind permission of Glasgow University Library, Department of Special Collections)



Plate 5 Three of the most significant figures in the literary life of Nürnberg in the seventeenth century: Johann Michael Dilherr (1604-1669), Georg Philipp Harsdörffer (1607-58), and Sigmund von Birken (1626-1681). Dilherr was the City Librarian and the Pastor (*Prediger*) of St. Sebaldus' Church. All three were leaders of the *Pegnesischen Blumenorden*, and they all wrote many of the hymns in Nbg1690. (C. H. Beck, München)

1.4 The Weimarer Tabulatur Buch of 1704

While the *Weimarer Tabulatur Buch* might be seen as a companion to Nbg1690, its contents acted as a kind of filter of this mass of hymnody, or even as a reflection of the attrition that had started to take place immediately the Nürnberg book was published. (How many hymns in modern collections are never used?) Organists would have written down only what they used. It is reasonable to assume that an analysis of what is in this manuscript will show which hymns were used in church at the time. It is likely that it was the older, better known hymns, originally written for congregational use, more suited to this than some of the newer aria-like Baroque hymns, which would have been used. This is borne out by the selection both in the *Weimarer Tabulatur Buch*, and also by Pachelbel's choice of which hymns to set as organ chorales.

If we count the triple chorale that starts with *Kyrie, Gott Vater in Ewigkeit* (that Bach so memorably set in *Clavierübung III*) as one item, and include the alternative titles of chorales given in the text, there are 170 chorales in the *Weimarer Tabulatur Buch* collection. A little more than half of these are provided with introductory fuguettes, though for the purposes of this part of the analysis I shall ignore this difference. I shall consider whether the chorale was to be found in Erf1663 and/or Nbg1690.

126 of the 170 chorales in Weimar1704 are in Nbg1690. 137 of them are in Erf1663.

16 chorales in Weimar1704 are not found in either of these collections. These include: Schein's *Ich weiß daß mein Erlöser lebt*; the *Kyrie/Christe/Kyrie* already mentioned, originating in Naumburg in 1625; *Sei begrüßet*, a [then] modern chorale that Bach was later to make famous; Weiße's *Als der gütige Gott*; Bonnus' *Mein Seel, O Gott, muß loben dich*; and *Meine Seele erhebt den Herren*, a German version of the *Magnificat* set to the *Tonus peregrinus*.

There are 26 hymns in Weimar1704 that are in Erf1663, but not in Nbg1690. These must have been used specifically in Nürnberg, despite not being in Nbg1690, and sufficiently often to warrant inclusion in Weimar1704. This group, beside relatively insignificant hymns (such as N. Herman's *Kayser Augusta*), includes some

important ones too: Luther's *Christe, du Lamm Gottes*; Horn's *Gottes Sohn ist kommen*; Altenberg's *Lob sei Gott in des Himmels Thron*; *Herr Gott, nun schleuß den Himmel auf* and *Gleichwie ein Hirsch* (as well as several other less significant of his hymns); Melchior Franck's *Gen Himmel aufgefahren ist*; Weiße's *Singen wir aus Herzensgrund*; Schneegass' *In dir ist Freude* and *Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder*; Melanchthon's *Herr Gott, dich loben wir*; Alber's *Ach Gott, thu dich erbarmen*; Queen Sophie of Denmark's *Gott ist mein Heil*; Major's *Ach Gott uns Herr, wie groß und schwer*; Flittner's *Ach! Was soll ich Sünder machen*; and *Heut triumphiret*. The introduction of these hymns into this collection represents an importation into Nürnberg of hymns, not current there, from Erfurt. It seems unlikely that this took place other than through Pachelbel's influence.

Weimar1704 is another collection dominated by *Kernlieder*.³³ Of the 170 items (Table 1.4, page 26) 86 are on Dempsey's list and/or are in the 1855 Stuttgart hymn book, and yet a further 12 are in EKG1950. Even so, this grand total of 98 represents an understatement of the true situation, since there are several other chorales that are almost *Kernlieder* (*Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund*, for example). Altogether 39 hymns apart from the *Kernlieder* were written by authors of national repute who wrote *Kernlieder*; these hymns were widely in use at the time and remained so after 1700. A further 17 were written by lesser known authors, but they were in use before Pachelbel's time and remained in use after it. Another 27 are by little known authors or are anonymous; many of these appear in only one of the collections I studied, or in none apart from Weimar1704.

³³ I have counted the items in Weimar1704 according to the page numbering in the MS. Each item (whether just chorale or chorale and fughetta [the fughetta always comes first in the manuscript]) was intended to have a number. So the *Kyrie/Christe/Kyrie* grouping (No. 67), consisting of three fughettas and three chorales, lasts for seven sides, yet receives only one number. Unfortunately both fughetta and chorale of *Es stehn vor Gottes Thron* receive a number each, 77 and 78. I have called this item No. 78 and there is therefore no No. 77 in my list. This keeps me right with the rest of the numbering in the MS. A number of melodies are deemed suitable for more than one hymn, some of these for three. I have included all the hymns in the list. Sometimes it is difficult to work out which hymn is intended; for instance *Wir dancken dir*; *O Jesu, du mein*; and *Ach Gott wie* are three pithy incipits that could each be a number of chorales; I have chosen those that seem most likely, they having been in Erf1663. In one case the incipit is illegible so I have chosen Weiße's *Als Jesus geboren war*. There is the usual confusion between the various possible versions of *Ich weiß, daß mein Erlöser lebt* (Gerhardt, Helmbold), *Herr Gott, nun schleuß den Himmel auf* (Altenberg or Kiel) and *Herr Jesu Christ, du höchstes Gut* (Stegmann, Beck). Doubtless the various versions were written as parodies of the others, using the same tune. I have chosen again presuming that the version in Erf1663 would have been the one intended.

Table 1.4

Contents of Weimar1704: 170 items

<i>Kernlieder</i> (Dempsey and Stuttgart and EKG)	Other relatively well known hymns by authors of national stature	Hymns in general use by lesser known authors	Hymns by unknown authors, or anonymous	Hymns from Erf1663 not in Nbg1690
98	38	17	16	27

Table 1.5

Contents of Weimar1704 in order of appearance in the MS

Alternative names for chorale melodies appear in () but have no new number, though details of their appearance in the collections are given.

- *Kernlieder*, either Dempsey, Stuttgart1855 or EKG1950
- Erf1663 shows the number assigned by me
- Nbg1690 shows the number in the hymn book
- Pachelbel organ chorale as found in DTB (number) or Matthaei (volume and number). Those numbers in brackets [] are chorales of disputed authorship.

* means that the chorale is furnished with an introductory fughetta

Chorale	<i>Kern</i>	Erf63	NBG90	Org. Ch.
<i>1. Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland*</i>	D	1	3	DTB50
<i>2. Gottes Sohn ist kommen*</i>	D	4		
<i>3. Lob sei den allmächtigen Gott*</i>	D	3	6	
<i>4. Nun jauchzet, all ihr Frommen*</i>	S	6	8	
<i>5. Preiß, Lob und Herrlichkeit</i>		7		
<i>6. Vater allmächtiger</i>				DTB30 DTB57/58
<i>7. Christe wollt uns hören</i>				
<i>8. Herr, vergieb uns</i>				
<i>9. Christum, wir sollen loben schon</i> <i>(Was fürchtest, du Feind, Herodes)</i>	D	10	20	
	D	48	73bis	
<i>10. Gelobet seist du, Herr Jesu Christ*</i>	DS	11	17	
<i>11. Vom Himmel hoch*</i>	D	12	22	
<i>12. Kayser Augusta*</i>		25		

13. Der Tag, der ist so freudenreich	DS	13	18	DTB18
14. Vom Himmel kam der Engel Schaar*	DS	14	23	
15. Lob sey Gott in des Himmels Thron*		24		DTB46
16. Lob Gott, ihr Christen allzugleich*	DS	26	24	
17. In dulci jubilo	D	16	25	
18. Wir Christenleut	EKG	35	21	
19. Heut lobt die werthe Christenheit		23		
20. Ein Kind geboren		17	27	
21. Singen wir aus Herzensgrund (Als Jesus gebohren war)	D			
22. Herr Christ, der einige Gottessohn*	D	284	81	DTB34
23. Den die Hirten lobten sehre		15		
24. Laßt uns alle fröhlich seyn				
25. Das neugeborene Kindelein		41	50	
26. Das alte Jahr*	S	38	54	
27. Danksagen wir alle, Gott	D	28	28	
28. In dir ist Freude*	EKG	43		
29. Helft mir Gottes Güte preisen*	D	273	51	
(Von Gott will ich nicht lassen)	S	314	1080	
30. Aus Jakobs Stamm*		49		
31. Jesu meines Herzens Freude			529	
32. Herr Gott nun schleuß den Himmel		53		
33. Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin*	DS	52	78	
34. Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht*	D	54	811	DTB12
35. Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund*		378	138	DTB15
36. Christus, der uns selig macht*	D	57	189	
37. O Lamm Gottes unschuldig*	DS	59	196	DTB53
38. Christe, du Lamm Gottes*	S	203		
39. Gleichwie sich sein ein Vöglein*		60		
40. Wir danken dir, Herr Jesu Christ*	S	64	225	
41. Wenn meine Sünde mich kränken*	S		213	
42. O Traurigkeit, O Herzeleid*	S	71	181	
43. Hilft Gott, daß mirs gelinge	D	79	185	
44. Jesu, meines Lebens Leben	S		223	
45. Herzbekster Jesu, was hast du *	S		193	
46. O Mensch, beweine dein' Sünde groß*	EKG	74	187	DTB54
47. Kyrie* (Luther's Litany)			1010	
48. O Christen Mensch, betrachte nun		63		
49. Ach, wir armen Sünder*	D	58	673	
50. Sei begrüßet				
51. Als der gütige Gott				
52. Christ lag in Todesbanden*	DS	75	242	DTB13
53. J. Chr., unser Heiland, der den Tod*	D	82	243	DTB40/41
54. Also heilig ist der Tag		73	244	
55. Am Sabbaths Fröh		80	56	
(Wir dancken dir, Herr Jesu Christ)		91	267	
56. Heut triumphiret		88		
57. Erschienen ist der herrlich Tag	DS	81	246	

58. Erstanden ist der heilig Christ	EKG	84&85	245	
59. Christ ist erstanden	DS	74	241	
60. Christ fuhr gen Himmel	D	89	257	
61. Nun freut euch, lieben Christen *	DS		487	[DTB49]
(Es ist gewisslich an der Zeit)	DS	357	1152	
62. Ach bleib bei uns, Herr J. C., weil es	D		888	
63. Gen Himmel aufgefahren	EKG	96		
64. Komm, Heiliger Geist, Herre Gott*	DS	99	269	[DTB44]
65. Komm Gott, Schöpfer, Heiliger Geist	DS	100	270	DTB43
66. Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist*	DS	102	268	
67. Kyrie, Gott Vater; Christe; Kyrie*				
68. Der Heilige Christ vom Himmel kam				
69. Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Her*	DS	115	292	DTB6/[7]
70. Der du bist drei in Einigkeit	D	113	287	
71. Gott der Vater, wohn uns bei*	DS	114	285	DTB31
72. Jesaja, dem Propheten*	D	119	286	
73. Mein Seel', O. G., muß loben dich*	EKG			
74. Gelobet sey der Herr		122		
75. Meine Seel erhebt den Herren*				DTB48
76. Herr Gott, dich loben alle wir*	EKG	126		DTB35
78. Es stehn vor Gottes Thron*		127		
79. Wo Gott zum Haus nicht gibt*	D	160	918	DTB70/71
80. Wo Gott der Herr nicht bey uns halt*	D	159	880	DTB67[68]69
81. Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder*		131		DTB3/4
82. Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl*	D	134	871	D27
83. Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt*	D	135	872	DTB16/17
84. Gleichwie ein Hirsch*		141		
85. In dich hab ich gehoffet*	DS	137	1050	DTB39
86. Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern*	S	142	498	DTB65
87. Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh' darein	DS	133	870	DTB1/2
88. Wie nach ein Wasserquelle		140	1051	
89. Ein' feste Burg*	DS	143	875	DTB23
90. Es wolle uns Gott genädig sein	DS	147	877	DTB28/29
91. Nun lob, mein' Seele, den Herren	DS	151	437	DTB52
92. Es ist da Heyl uns kommen her	DS	282	682	
93. Was mein Gott will, das gesche	S	322	1002	DTB61/[62]
(Mein Liecht und Heil ist Gott der Herr)		418		
(Lob Gott mit Schall ihr Heyden)		155		
94. Wär Gott nicht mit uns	DS	158	879	
95. Lobet den Herren			444	
96. An Wasserflüssen Babylon*	D	163	1016	DTB9/10
(Ein Lämmlein geht)	S	67	195	
97. Dies sind die heiligen zehn Gebot*	D	168	569	DTB19
98. Wir glauben all' an einen Gott*	DS	170	576	DTB66
99. Vater unser in Himmelreich*	DS	172	583	DTB55/56
(Ach Gott, wie manches Herzeleide)	EKG	335	1066	
100. Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan*	D	178	590	DTB14
101. Allein zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ*	DS	181	611	DTB8

102. Ach Gott, thu dich erbarmen		182		
103. Aus tiefer Noth schrei ich zu dir*	DS	162	615	
104. Erbarm dich mein, O Herre Gott*	D	144	608	DTB24
105. Kommt her zu mir, spricht G.S.*	D	286	969	DTB45
106. Wo soll ich fliehen*		315	646	
107. Ach, was soll ich machen*			1069	Partita
108. Meinem Jesu, laß ich nicht*	S	375	1111	
109. Ich ruf zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ*	DS	287	977	DTB37/38
110. O Christe, Morgensterne	EKG	186		
111. Herr Jesu Christ, du höchstes Güt	S		670	
112. O großes Werck, Geheimniß voll		198	700	
113. J. C., unser Heiland, der von uns	D	195	696	DTB42
114. Ach, du allerhöchste Freude			713	
115. Jesu, deine heilige Wunden			148	
116. Schaffe in mir, Gott*				
117. Gott sey gelobet und gebenedeyet	D	196	729	
118. Ach Gott und Herr, wie groß	S	190		
119. Ich danck dir, lieber Herr		205	754	
120. Aus meines Herzensgrunde	D	206	752	
121. Ich danck dir schon durch deinen S.		211		
122. Christ, der du bist der helle Tag	D	215	812	
123. Werde munter, mein Gemüte	EKG	373	830	Partita
124. Dancket dem Herren, denn er ist	D	227	864	
125. Nun laßt uns Gott den Herren*	D	231	412	[DTB51]
126. Lobt Gott in seinem Heiligthum				
127. Dancket dem Herren heut				
128. Nun danket alle Gott	S	416	326	
129. Herr Gott, dich loben wir*	DS	265	410	
130. O Herr Gott, dein göttliches Wort*	D	239	892	
131. Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort*	DS	237	883	[DTB25]
132. Wer Gott vertraut*	S	297	1087	
133. Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend*	S	241	898	
134. Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier	S		897	
135. Wenn wir in höchsten Nöthen sein	S	300	1012	D64/M3,16a
136. O Gott, du frommer Gott	S		975	
137. Was Gott thut ist wohlgethan	S	310	1220	Partita
138. Wer nur den lieben Gott	S		1085	
139. Wies Gott gefällt		303	1073	
140. Jesu, meine Freude	EKG	403	528	
141. Ach Gott, erhör mein Seufzen		395	1061	
142. Gott ist mein Heil	D	302		
143. Gott hat das Evangelium (Ein großes Wetter kommt)	D	354	1149	[DTB32]
144. Warum betrübst du dich mein Herz*	DS	292	1035	DTB59/60
145. Wenn dich Unglück thut greifen an		301		
146. Durch Adams Fall	D	283	681	DTB20/21/22
147. Du Friedensfürst	EKG	244	1019	
148. Gott, Vater, der du deine Sonn'	D	257	1037	DTB33

149. Christus, der ist mein Leben	S	328	1130	Partita
150. Herr Jesu Christ, wahrer Mensch	DS	317	1112	
151. Auf meinen lieben Gott*	S	324	1088	[DTB11]
152. Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden *	DS	330	1123	DTB63
153. Ich hab' mein Sach' Gott h'gestellt*	D	323	1108	DTB36
154. Herzlich lieb hab ich dich, O Herr	S	325	1118	
155. Ich weiß, daß mein Erlöser lebt	D			
156. Mitten wir im Leben sind	DS	344	1105	
157. Herr Jesu Christ, meines Liebens L.		327	1113	
(O Jesu, du mein Bräutigam)		406	719	
(Ach Gott wie schrecklich ist dein G.)		263	1044	
158. Allenthalben will ich geben			1120	
159. Nun laß uns den Leib begraben	DS	345	1148	

It might be presumed that those chorales in Weimar1704 that are provided with an introductory fughetta would have been the ones most likely to have been sung. Indeed, of the 80 hymns so provided, all except 13 are *Kernlieder* from Dempsey's or the Stuttgart list. It is perhaps instructive to examine these 13 exceptions. Only one is completely obscure, *Schaffe in mir, O Gott*; all the others are relatively well known. *Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund*, *Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder*, *Lob sey Gott in des Himmels Thron*, *Meine Seel' erhebt den Herren*, Helmbold's *Es stehn vor Gottes Thron*, Heermann's *Wo soll ich fliehen*, were well known hymns and continued in use after Pachelbel's time. They might be thought of as belonging to that group that might easily have been *Kernlieder*. N. Herman's *Kayser Augusta* is an example of an undistinguished hymn by a distinguished author. *Gleichwie sich ein Vöglein* and *Gleichwie ein Hirsch*, both by Altenberg, represent a strand in Pachelbel's hymnody. The work of this author, who only rarely rose to great literary heights, seems over-represented in the hymns under discussion; he wrote five of the hymns in Weimar1704. The reason for this perhaps is that he was a native of Erfurt, serving as *Kantor* there in his youth and in the last two years of his life. Although he died in 1640, doubtless the memory of him was green both when the Erfurt hymn book was compiled, and when Pachelbel was himself employed there. There are ten hymns by him in Erf1663, none of which is in any of the other collections, and the sole remaining trace of him in EKG1950 is as a musician; he wrote the tune to

Fabricius' *Verzage nicht, du Häuflein klein, obschon die Feinde*.³⁴ If this 'over-representation' of this author of purely local significance might be seen as a lapse in judgement and taste, we might excuse it on grounds of personal interest.

Many hymns that only later came to be seen as *Kernlieder* were treated in 1700 like hymns that were already in that category; in this group of 13 chorales that were not *Kernlieder* but that were provided with introductory fuguetas, there are the three chorales *Kyrie, Gott Vater in Ewigkeit; Christe, aller Welt Trost; and Kyrie, Gott, Heiliger Geist*. These chorale-substitutes for the Ordinary were written in Naumburg in 1537, and although never classed as *Kernlieder* were obviously much in use. J. S. Bach has made them famous with his two settings of them in the *Clavierübung III*. That they should be included with a fughetta here, while not appearing in any earlier general collection shows that they were quickly taken up by the authorities in Nürnberg, presumably being found an ideal chorale substitute for the *Kyrie*.

1.5 The chorales that Pachelbel chose to set

It may seem anachronistic to consider the chorales that Pachelbel chose to set as organ chorales after having examined Weimar 1704. Nevertheless, I think that although Weimar 1704 was compiled after most, if not all of Pachelbel's organ chorales were written, the collection represents a distillation of the chorales in use during the time that Pachelbel was writing, and that to draw conclusions from its contents as to which chorales were at Pachelbel's disposal is legitimate.

Pachelbel wrote, or was at one time reputed to have written, organ chorales (including the seven chorale partitas) on 60 chorales. While the situation regarding the authenticity of some of these ascriptions is somewhat uncertain, I have come to my own conclusions as to which organ chorales I shall regard as definitely by Pachelbel. The reasons for this choice, and the situation of other organ chorales of which the ascription to Pachelbel is feasible but not proven, and of yet others which he certainly did not write, will be discussed later. In this assessment of Pachelbel's choice of melodies to set I have confined myself to those organ chorales that

³⁴ The hymn *Herr Gott, nun schleuß den Himmel auf*, set by J. S. Bach, which has the same verbal text as Altenberg's hymn, as given in Novello's *Bach's Organ Works*, Volume 20, as being by Tobias Kiel. The tune Bach used, however, is by Altenberg, and was published in 1620 (in a version harmonised by Altenberg) in *Kirchen- und Hausgesenge*.

definitely are by Pachelbel, and to those that might be by him and have no other more likely ascription. In the following discussion, therefore, only 53 of these 60 chorale melodies will be discussed.

Of the hymns associated with these 53 chorale melodies, 38 were in 1690 *Kernlieder*, eight became *Kernlieder* later, while three found their way into EKG1950. Of the remaining four it might be said that they should have been *Kernlieder* in the sense that they were in widespread use throughout Germany for long periods from the time of their writing, while some of them are still in use.

Of these 53 chorales all but three are in Erf1663. These three chorales are *Ach was soll ich Sünder machen*; *Alle Menschen müssen sterben*, and *Meine Seel' erhebt den Herren*. The third of these was not thought of as a hymn at all, but as a chant. The second was a contemporary hymn written only in 1652. The melody of the first one, *Ach, was soll ich Sünder machen*, was the same as that for *Ach Herr mich armen Sünder*, and seems to have been associated with the tune for *Herzlich thut mich verlangen* (and indeed with J. H. Schein's hymn of this same first line). This tune, and the hymns for which it was used, were of relatively recent introduction. The tune, then already known in association with Gerhardt's hymn *O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden*, had appeared in PPM1656. It appears in Erf1663 to *Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder*; it is suggested for Schein's hymn in Nbg1690. Perhaps Pachelbel was fond of it, since he wrote a chorale partita (entitled *Herzlich thut mich verlangen*) on it, as well as the organ chorales. Maybe the hymn *Ach, was soll ich Sünder machen* was introduced by him both in Erfurt and Nürnberg.

Of the 53 chorales being discussed here (Table 1.6) all but four appear in Nbg1690. These four exceptions are *Herr Gott, dich loben alle wir*; *Meine Seel' erhebt den Herren*; *Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder*; and *Lob sei Gott in de Himmels Thron*. While Melanchthon's *Herr Gott, dich loben alle wir*, set to the Old 100th, does not appear in Nbg1690, Eber's hymn of the same incipit does. The two tunes, in their first lines, bear an exact resemblance to each other, but since Pachelbel's setting is a *cantus-firmus* setting, this could not strictly have been used as an introduction to Eber's hymn; the setting was presumably written in Erfurt. It seems most unlikely that *Meine Seel' erhebt den Herren* was not used at Nürnberg, given the devotion there to the *Magnificat* and Vespers, but it was again perhaps thought of as a chant

and could have been found elsewhere than in the hymn book. Although the hymn *Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder* does not appear in Nbg1690, the tune, presumably used for *Herzlich thut mich verlangen*, would have been familiar. Although Nbg1690 gives no tune or suggestion of one for the latter hymn, it recommends the tune for a number of other hymns [627, 628, 629, 813, 852, 1165]). The absence of Altenberg's *Lob sei Gott in des Himmels Thron* from Nbg1690 is presumably just an accident; Pachelbel must have set this while in Erfurt.

Table 1.6

53 chorales set by Pachelbel, showing whether each hymn is a *Kernlied* (Dempsey [D] or Stuttgart [S] or EKG), giving the number in Erf1663, Nbg1690 and Weimar1704
[Weimar1704 numbers with an asterisk means the chorale has a fughetta.]

Chorale	DS	Erf63	Nbg90	Weimar
<i>Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein</i>	DS	133	870	87
<i>Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder</i>	-	131	-	81*
<i>Ach! wie elend ist unsre Zeit = Aus tiefer Noth)</i>	D	148	1090	-(103*)
<i>Ach, was soll ich Sünder machen</i>	-	-	1069	107*
<i>Alle Menschen müssen sterben</i>	S	-	1107	-
<i>Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr</i>	DS	115	292	69*
<i>Allein zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ</i>	DS	181	611	101*
<i>An Wasserflüssen Babylon</i>	S	163	1016	96*
<i>Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht</i>	D	54	811	34*
<i>Christ lag in Todesbanden</i>	DS	75	242	52*
<i>Christ, unser Herr zum Jordan kam</i>	D	178	590	100*
<i>Christus, der ist mein Leben</i>	S	328	1130	149
<i>Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund</i>	-	378	138	35*
<i>Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt</i>	D	135	872	83*
<i>Der Tag, der ist so freudenreich</i>	DS	13	18	13
<i>Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot</i>	D	168	569	97*
<i>Durch Adams Fall</i>	D	283	681	146
<i>Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott</i>	DS	143	875	89*
<i>Erbarm dich mein, O Herre Gott</i>	D	144	608	104*
<i>Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl</i>	D	134	871	82*
<i>Es woll uns Gott gnädig sein</i>	DS	147	877	90*
<i>Freu dich sehr, O meine Seele</i>	S	338	1132	-
<i>Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ</i>	DS	11	17	10*
<i>Gott der Vater wohn' uns bei</i>	DS	114	285	71*
<i>Herr Christ, der einig Gottes Sohn</i>	D	284	81	22*

<i>Herr Gott, dich loben alle wir</i>	EKG	126	-	76*
<i>Herr Jesu Christ, ich weiß gar wohl</i>	D	332	1106	-
<i>Herzlich thut mich verlangen</i>	S	349	1119	-
<i>Ich hab' mein' Sach' Gott heimgestellt</i>	D	323	1108	153*
<i>Ich ruf' zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ</i>	DS	287	977	109*
<i>In dich hab' ich gehoffet, Herr</i>	DS	137	1050	85*
<i>Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der den Tod</i>	D	82	243	53*
<i>Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der von uns</i>	D	195	696	113
<i>Komm, Gott, Schöpfer, Heiliger Geist</i>	DS	100	270	65
<i>Kommt her zu mir, spricht Gottes Sohn</i>	D	286	969	105*
<i>Lob sei Gott in des Himmels Thron</i>	-	24	-	15*
<i>Mag ich Unglück nicht widerstahn</i>	D	298	1076	-
<i>Meine Seel' erhebt den Herren</i>	D	-	-	75
<i>Nun komm der Heiden Heiland</i>	D	1	3	1*
<i>Nun lob, mein Seel', den Herren</i>	DS	151	437	91
<i>O Lamm Gottes, unschuldig</i>	DS	59	196	37*
<i>O Mensch! beweine dein' Sünde groß</i>	EKG	65	187	46*
<i>Vater unser im Himmelreich</i>	DS	172	583	99*
<i>Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her</i>	D	12	22	11*
<i>Warum betrübst du dich, mein Herz</i>	DS	292	1035	144*
<i>Was mein Gott will, das gescheh' allzeit</i>	S	322	1002	93
<i>Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist</i>	DS	330	1123	152*
<i>Wenn wir in höchsten Nöthen sein</i>	S	300	1012	135
<i>Werde munter, mein Gemüte</i>	EKG	373	830	123
<i>Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern</i>	S	142	498	86*
<i>Wir glauben all' an einen Gott</i>	DS	170	576	98*
<i>Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält</i>	D	159	880	80*
<i>Wo Gott zum Haus nicht gibt sein' Gunst</i>	D	160	918	79*

Of these 53 chorales set by Pachelbel, 47 are in Weimar1704. Those missing are: *Mag ich Unglück nicht widerstahn*; *Herr Jesu Christ, ich weiß gar wohl*; and *Ach wie elend ist unsre Zeit*, as well as those set as Partitas: *Herzlich thut mich verlangen*; *Alle Menschen müssen sterben* and *Freu dich sehr. Ach wie elend ist unsre Zeit*, however, is set to the same tune as the Ionian tune for *Aus tiefer Noth ich schrey zu dir*, which is in Weimar1704. The partita settings used hymns that were perhaps not much used in church; in addition Perreault suggests (though wrongly, I think,) that the organ chorale *Herr Jesu Christ, ich weiß gar wohl* is not by Pachelbel; I shall deal with this later.

Despite exhaustive research of Pachelbel's hymn books, the conclusion that emerges is that he set as organ chorales proper only very well known hymns. Indeed, it would be difficult to find a hymn book that did not contain as high a proportion of

the chorales that he set as do Erf1663 and Nbg1690. In mitigation it must be said that Pachelbel would probably have written down only settings of the most commonly used chorales, extemporising introductions and accompaniments for lesser known tunes; further, that many of the more obscure hymns in these two hymn books would have been sung to well known tunes (though how the congregations could then tell which hymn is to be sung from the organ introduction remains a mystery).

1.6 The style of the chorale melodies

Before leaving this topic an important aspect of the connection between the hymnody and the organ chorales – the exact version of the chorale melody used in the organ chorales – needs to be discussed. Pachelbel generally uses the versions of the melody found in Weimar1704. These versions differ in two crucial respects from the ‘original’ versions, especially from those written in Luther’s time. In the intervening years many of these tunes had undergone a process of rhythmical simplification, and the modal contours of the melodies had been ironed out by the addition of sharpened leading notes, mostly, but not only, at cadence points.

The earlier versions of many chorales had been rhythmically complex. Many of them had originated in traditions that did not use the regular barring that became common, indeed universal, after 1700. These early melodies often did not follow the metrical accents of the poetry by rhythmic quantity, but only by the way the melodies were accentuated in performance. Luther, however, was aware that for a congregation to be able to sing them, some of these tunes had to be simplified, and he had a hand in this process.³⁵ Even so, judging from the way the tunes were printed in the hymn books at the time, some tunes were still sung freely, in a non-measured way, as in plainsong; others in a measured (mensural) style where there was exact rhythmic quantity but no regular barring; yet others, even in Luther’s time, were sung in the style later to be called iso-metric, where the tunes were rendered in incessant similar-length notes with unvarying strong-weak accentuation.

Performance of the plainsong-like melodies tended to turn into this last style if sung slowly enough, and the mensural tunes were gradually altered in conformity

³⁵ Kathryn Jane Welter, *Johann Pachelbel: Organist, Teacher, Composer: A critical re-examination of his Life, Works and historical Significance*, Harvard 1998, p 28.

with it also. By Pachelbel's time almost all tunes were sung in this iso-metric fashion, and the contents of Weimar1704 show almost (though not all) of them notated in this form.

As an illustration of this let us look at the chorale *Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam*. This fine tune (1524) is that to which Luther wrote in 1543 his famous Baptism hymn (Example 1.1);



Example 1.1 *Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam* (WitK1544)

Jenny thinks that Luther himself composed the tune.³⁶ In its original version (Example 1.1) it is an example of the mensural style. It is, however, potentially more regular in its barring than some. Apart from the first phrase, which contains two beats too many, it will all fit into a regular barring of four, and, with the distortion at the end of the first phrase, this is how it appears in EKG1950 (Example 1.2).

Luther

The image shows three staves of musical notation for the chorale 'Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam' with German lyrics. The notation is in mensural style, using a single treble clef and a common time signature (C). The first staff includes a first and second ending bracket. The lyrics are written below the notes. The piece concludes with a double bar line.

Christ uns-er Herr zum Jor-dan kam nach sei-nes Va-ter's Wil-len, Da wollt er
 von Sanct Jo-hann die Tau-fe nahm sein Werk und Amt zu'rful-len.

stri-ten uns ein Bad, zu wa-schen uns von Suen-den, er-saue-fen auch den bit-tern

Tod durch sein selbst Blut und Wun-den; es galt ein neu-es Leb-en.

Example 1.2 *Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam* (EKG1950)

It must be said that the accentuation of the words does fit this pattern, unlike in, for instance, in *Vater unser im Himmelreich* or *Nun komm der Heiden Heiland*, where

³⁶ Markus Jenny, *Luthers Geistliche Lieder und Kirchengesänge*, (Band 4 of *Archiv zur Weimarer Ausgabe der Werke Martin Luthers*), Köln/Wien, 1985, p 117.

the accentuation is totally belied by such a treatment of the melody.³⁷ Nevertheless, there is some distortion, in that the ‘syncopated’ patterns on *Sünden* and *Wunden* (the first two slurred groupings) are only seen as syncopation if the regular four-time barring is held in mind. Equally valid, and probably the original intention, is the treatment of these ‘syncopations’ as bars of compound time, accentuated accordingly. This is how it is interpreted in Weimar1704, though at half the speed (Example 1.3).



Example 1.3 *Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam* (Weimar1704)

This version, though not completely devoid of mensural features, displays that other universal transformation, the lengthening of all the initial notes in place of the original shortened upbeats. The version of the tune in Erf1663 (Example 1.4) falls between these two in retaining the ‘syncopation’, but eliminating all lengthened or shortened upbeats except the very first.



Example 1.4 *Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam* (Erf1663)

³⁷ Va-ter un-ser im Him-mel-reich instead of Vat-er un-ser im Him-mel-reich; Nun komm der Heid-en Hey-land instead of Nun komm der Heid-den Hey-land.

In this version the chorale, it seems to me, could have been performed in a very plainsong-like manner. The two melodic differences to the upbeat have the effect of making the upbeat smoother, either by altering the implied harmony, or causing the melody to move by step. Comparing the chorale melody as used in Pachelbel's organ chorale on *Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam* (Example 1.5) with the version in Weimar1704, the upbeats in the chorale melody have been lengthened where the *Vorimitation* demands it, otherwise they have been ironed out, as has all trace of the 'syncopation'. Final notes of each line have been lengthened to prepare for the following silence caused by the line-by-line presentation of the melody. Pachelbel's version is the one of the most extreme simplicity, the incessant and unvarying procession of the *cantus firmus* striking the listener most emphatically.



Example 1.5 *Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam* (Organ chorale by Pachelbel, DTB 14, Pedal part)

Of the chorales that Pachelbel set that are found in Erf1663, rather under half are still, in that publication, in the mensural style, while the remainder have been transformed into the iso-metric version. The versions of the chorale melodies used in the organ chorales are always simplified, even those iso-metric-style melodies that still, in Erf1663, have rhythmic peculiarities; all syncopation and differing-length bars are ironed out. Up-beats are either double-length, as in *Christ, unser Herr*, or the melody is in same-length notes throughout. So, for example, the melody of *Herr Christ, der einiger Gottes Sohn* is in the mensural style in Erf1663; in Weimar1704 it has been 'tidied up', though there are still rhythmic 'irregularities'. In Pachelbel's organ chorale DTB 34, though, while the subject of the fughetta, based on the first line of the chorale, uses the rhythm found in Weimar1704, when later the melody

appears as a *cantus firmus* in the bass the only deviation from iso-metric pattern is a doubling in length of the penultimate notes in lines five and six of the melody. This is much the pattern of Pachelbel's treatment; whenever the melody is a *cantus firmus*, it is presented in the simplest guise.

The addition of chromatic inflexions, which we see in the Weimar1704 version of the tune of *Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam*, is the other major change that such tunes underwent. The general introduction of major/minor harmony in the Baroque period created a tension between the modal character of the melodies and the demands of modern harmony. This clash of styles became more acute when the chorale melodies were functioning as a *cantus firmus* in works that were written using the directional harmony that was an integral part of the major/minor system; this directional harmony also required a regular succession of accents. We see this development at its most extreme in the settings of J.S. Bach (e. g. Ex 1.6), where the monotony of the chorale melodies, fitted on to their procrustean bed of regular barring, are enlivened by passing notes added to the melody and by adventurous harmony. The transcendent beauty of the result does not hide the violence done to the original plasticity of the melodies, and it is instructive that the versions of the chorales printed in EKG1950, where the editorial policy was to return to a more rhythmically flexible mode of performance, are rarely those of Bach.

Luther/Bach



Example 1.6 *Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam* (Chorale melody by Luther, harmonised by J. S. Bach)

If Pachelbel does not always use the chromatic inflexions that were added later to the tunes when setting them, his organ settings nevertheless are firmly rooted in major/minor harmonies. So, with *Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam* (Example 1.5, page 38), we find that the modal character of the melody influences the final form of the piece only in that it finishes not on the ‘tonic’, but on the ‘dominant’. But the idea of what is the tonic and what the dominant springs very much from the *tonal* implications of the melody, not from its modal structure. Pachelbel’s piece is in D minor; his harmonisation affirms that key until he reaches the final cadence, where the bass line cannot be harmonised by a root-position-to-root-position V-I cadence. He is forced to end on A, both melodically and harmonically, since the melody is his bass line; this ending is harmonically speaking ‘on the dominant’, giving us the feeling that the piece has not really ended, or at least not in the home key. It is however only this ending, with its plagal cadence, that suggests modality. The B flats that occur at the beginning of the piece and decorate all the cadences in D minor reinforce the feeling of that key. The uninflected G natural in line 7 of the chorale, and the B naturals that occur in the tune, are all treated tonally, not modally, and the G sharp in line 5 of the chorale destroys any possibility of seeing an A major chord as a harmonisation of the final of the mode rather than as a modulation to the dominant of D minor.

The crucial issue here, however, is that the final of the mode in which the melody is written is not D, but A; the melody is in the Aeolian mode, not the Dorian, despite the feeling that for most of the melody D must harmonically speaking be the ‘key’-note.³⁸ It is this tonal implication that Pachelbel has used in writing the piece; he has ignored the fact that the final is A, perhaps because this note, even though it is the final of the mode, and thus the goal of the melody, does not give the feeling harmonically of being a tonic. So we can say that the modal element is reflected, in that the piece ends on the ‘dominant’; but in all other ways the melody is treated as though it were in D minor.

³⁸ In Eler’s 1588 Hamburg Hymnbook, *Cantica Sacra etc.*, (RISM, DKL, p111) each hymn has a mode attributed to it. The title of the publication states: ‘.....] *atque ad dvodecim modos ex doctrina Glareani accommodata* [.....’ (.....furthermore brought into conformity with the twelve modes as laid out in the teaching of Glarean...) The mode attributed to *Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam* is Dorian. Whether this is a mistake, or whether Eler considers that the sense of key of the piece feels so based on D that this is the final, despite the fact that the tune ends on A, I cannot say.

Any melody used as a *cantus firmus* is subject to simplification; the more complex the setting around it, the simpler the style of the melody tends to be. While, as we have seen, many of the chorale tunes from earliest times were rhythmically simple, the treatment of the melodies as *cantus firmi*, either in self-standing organ pieces or in congregational accompaniment of them, must have contributed to the process of simplification of those that were not. Thus the iso-metric form of the chorales, at its most severe at the time of Weimar 1704, can be seen partly as the result of the rich development of the organ chorale over the previous century. So while Pachelbel's adherence to the simplest possible form of the chorale melody in all but one of his *cantus-firmus* organ chorales has its justification on liturgical grounds (the clearest possible presentation of the melody for the benefit of the congregation), there is also a musical logic to it. And, as I shall try to show in the next part of the thesis, this logic also applies the accompaniment of the chorales. The ever-more-complex presentation of these melodies demanded that they themselves be performed in their simplest possible form. This form they had assumed in general usage by 1704.

Pachelbel's choice of chorales most probably reflects how frequently they were sung in church. Nevertheless we might also suggest that the tunes sung most often were those most congenial to the composer. As Nolte says of him, his character was noted for its 'equanimity, serenity and restraint';³⁹ his contract demanded of him that 'he shall in this office seek to live a godly, quiet and retired life'.⁴⁰ Whether we can draw conclusions about the man's character from the music is debatable. Nevertheless, his compositional style, the way he treats a *cantus firmus*, his fugal style, were matched exactly by the character of the melodies he set. Their contours, their ambivalent modal character, their rhythmic staidness, their earnestness and sobriety, all suited his organ style. On a wider view, the *gravitas* of these tunes, mirroring, as it does by 1700, the weight of tradition rather than the revolutionary fervour in which most of the tunes had originally been created, is all of a piece with

³⁹ Ewald Valentin Nolte, *The instrumental works of Johann Pachelbel (1653-1706): an essay to establish his stylistic position in the development of the Baroque musical art*, Northwestern University, 1954, p 282.

⁴⁰ Welter, 1998, p 28.

the church of which the composer was a devout servant, of his social milieu, and of his work.

Chapter 2

The role of the organ in the performance of the Lutheran chorale

2.1 Introduction

In Pachelbel's appointment contract to the *Predigerkirche* in Erfurt it states: "He shall be present in the church each time at the correct hour, and himself execute the organ playing, accompanying the singing of the chorales throughout, which he shall study to introduce in a thematic preamble, as is customary among honoured organists today....." ¹ Besides illuminating the background against which Pachelbel developed his renowned skill as a player of preludes to the chorales, this statement brings to attention the role of the organ in the accompanying of the chorales. That it was felt necessary to stipulate that Pachelbel should accompany '*throughout*' suggests that it was not usual, or perhaps had only recently become usual, for this to happen, either in the *Predigerkirche* or in general.

How did Pachelbel accompany the chorales 'throughout'? What did he do that was different from what his predecessors had done? Are his organ chorales an indicator of how he fulfilled his duties? Were they an integral part of his accompanying practice? These are questions that it is hard to answer, because exact descriptions of how the chorales were accompanied are lacking until the time of Adlung and Kittel, the later eighteenth century. It is necessary, however, to attempt to answer them if an understanding of Pachelbel's organ chorales is to be achieved. While a thorough review of the development of the organ chorale is not called for at this point, a detailed survey of how the chorales were accompanied is appropriate.

¹ Translation of Pachelbel's Appointment contract to the *Predigerkirche*, as quoted in Welter 1998, p 27.

It will be necessary to explore how the organ chorale developed within the context of how the chorales were performed. The style of chorale playing that Pachelbel inherited stretched back to the beginning of the Reformation in an unbroken if not unchanging tradition. Through the development of that tradition it is possible to trace the genesis and development of the organ chorale as a genre; it seems to me unthinkable that there should not be an intimate relationship between that performing tradition and the organ chorale. The idea that organ chorales were free-standing 'recital' pieces that just happened to be based on the chorale melodies is not tenable. Such free-standing pieces certainly existed; they are the extended chorale fantasias, most prominently developed in north Germany by composers such as Michael Praetorius and Scheidemann, though even there a connection with the performance of the chorales cannot be ruled out. In south-central Germany it was the chorale fughetta and the *cantus-firmus* organ chorale, especially sets of variations, which were the usual forms. These pieces are the distillation of an extempore tradition of performance extending back to a time well before there are any written-down examples. The task here is to understand the connection between these organ chorales and how the organ was used in the performance of the chorale.

In his *Die Aufgabe der Orgel im Gottesdienste bis in das 18. Jahrhundert* (1892),² Georg Rietschel addresses the problem of the role that the organ played in the performance of the chorales by examining the *Kirchenordnungen*. These documents laid down regulations for every aspect of church life and government. They are, however, rather reticent when it comes to exact stipulations as to when and what the organist should play in the service. Nevertheless, on the strength of what he has distilled from them, Rietschel has outlined a process of development that led from the use of the organ as an instrument that accompanied the choir, and played *alternatim* with it and with the congregation, to the situation where the organ was the invariable accompanying instrument for the congregational singing. His line of argument, however, breaks down at precisely the point of transformation from the earlier situation to the later. I shall try to fill the gap in Rietschel's argument, with particular reference to the music of Samuel Scheidt, one of the earliest German

² Georg Rietschel, *Die Aufgabe der Orgel im Gottesdienste bis in das 18. Jahrhundert*, Buren, 1979 (originally no place, 1892).

composers to publish organ chorales, and the 'spiritual father' of Pachelbel.³ I shall offer a critique of Rietschel's conclusions, a critique that will in no sense be a criticism of what he says, but will try to establish that the accompaniment of the chorales (in the broadest sense of taking some part in their performances) was the forging ground of what we today know as the organ chorale. This conclusion can I think be drawn from Rietschel's material, though he himself does not specifically do this. His book is the most thorough-going study of the whole question of organ participation in the Lutheran service in the seventeenth century.

2.2 The period of the early Reformation.

The place of the chorale in Luther's orders of service and how the organ was used in its performance. Two types of chorale performance.

The chorale was of supreme liturgical importance to the Lutheran church from the beginning of the Reformation. Luther saw it primarily as a vehicle for worship by the non-Latinate laity; they were to have hymns in their own language which they could sing in praise of God. Because of this overriding consideration, Luther, in drawing up his reformed orders of service for the Mass, made those orders as flexible as possible so as to include the possibility of singing chorales.

Luther certainly wished ardently both to retain the structure of the Mass, and to incorporate as much of the Latin as he could. A perusal of his two Mass orders will show that in the first aim he succeeded. In both orders the structure is complete, except for the omission of some parts of the proper that Luther thought unbiblical.⁴ As for the second aim, his earlier Latin Mass (1523) does indeed retain the Ordinary and much of the Proper, in Latin. However the second order, the German Mass

³ M. Praetorius published his three chorale fantasies, as part of a larger collection of music devoted to the performance of the chorale, slightly earlier than the appearance of Scheidt's *Tabulatura Nova*. That they were so published rather suggests that he saw them as directly relevant to a performance of the chorales. Scheidt's collection *Tabulatura Nova* is really a treatise on how to treat the chorales in the context of worship, particularly worship in Halle where he was the director of music.

⁴ Ronald Lee Gould, *The Latin Lutheran Mass at Wittenberg 1532-1545: A survey of the early Reformation Mass and the Lutheran theology of music, as evidenced in the liturgical writings of Martin Luther, the relevant Kirchenordnungen, and the Georg Rhau Musikdrucke for the Hauptgottesdienst*, Union Theological Seminary, 1970, p 61. The offending elements of the Proper were the Offertory and the Communion.

(1526) jettisons all the Latin in favour of German translations of the chant sections for the Ordinary, and of German hymns for the Proper.⁵

The substitution of German hymns for the Proper embodied just that element of flexibility that circumstances demanded should be applied to the whole. While in many places the pure Latin rite was to continue in use for many years,⁶ elsewhere Luther's enthusiasm for the laity's right to worship in their own language demanded the wholesale substitution of German hymns not only for the Proper but also for the Ordinary. This possibility had indeed been envisaged by Luther in his Preface, where he states that not only could any section of either order be replaced by a German hymn, but other German hymns could be added at will anywhere in the service.

The most significant element of this importation of the chorale into the service was the fact that it was not really an importation at all. As Lever has pointed out, this is one of the most fundamental differences between the Anglican and the Lutheran reforms of the liturgy. In England hymns very similar in nature to the German chorales were written and performed at this time, but they did not become a part of the liturgy, being rather extras (though the office hymn in Evensong and the gradual hymn in the communion became in practice part of the liturgy). In Germany, however, although chorales could indeed be included as extras to the liturgy, they also and most importantly replaced elements of the liturgy.⁷

Given the license of Luther's orders, the actual practice was obviously extremely variable. Blume sums up the possibilities:

- Complete service in Latin (1523 order).
- Complete service in German (1526 order).
- German translation substituted for Latin prose sections (1523 order with some sections translated).
- German hymn substituted for Latin or German prose sections (substitution in either order).
- All prose sections with a German hymn added to them (addition as a form of clarification to either order).

⁵ Luther's Orders of Service for Mass (Gould 1970, pp 61-63, 64) appears in Appendix 5, p 396.

⁶ Blume, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirchenmusik*, Kassel, 1965, p 38. Appendix 5, p 398, gives a more detailed footnote.

⁷ Robin Lever, The Liturgy and Music. A Study of the Uses of the Hymn in Two Liturgical Traditions; *Grove Liturgical Study No.6*, Bramcote, 1976.

- Any number of German hymns added (applicable to either order).⁸

It can be seen from this that the chorale was accorded an overwhelming significance. Where the congregation understood Latin the service might remain almost indistinguishable from the Roman Latin Mass. But elsewhere there might be no Latin, or no chant but many German hymns. All shadings in between were possible.⁹

Such flexibility was supposed to have offered congregations, in accordance with Luther's wish, many opportunities to participate actively in worship. Was this the case? How in practice were the chorales performed at this time? What role did the organ take in their performance?

While first-hand descriptions of services at this time are very rare, it is fortunate that there survives a relatively detailed report by Wolfgang Musculus¹⁰ that describes a service and adds comments on how services were conducted in Wittenberg and Eisenach in the early stages of the Reformation. This description dates from 1536, by which time Wittenberg had its own order of service, based on Luther's own orders. I give here this order of service according to the 1536 Wittenberg *Kirchenordnung*, along with Musculus' description of the service he saw, which looks like a shortened version of the *Kirchenordnung* service.

⁸ Blume 1965, pp 38-39.

⁹ Indeed practice did not become uniform until in 1553 Lucius Lossius issued what was intended as an *Agende* for the churches in Lüneberg. The order, attempting to show how the ancient Latin hymns could be utilised in the vernacular to shore up what Lossius saw as the degradation of the liturgy, went by the title of *Psalmodia, hoc est Cantica sacra veteris ecclesiae selecta*. This publication became by accident a blueprint for liturgical practice in North Germany. Liliencron uses it as a yardstick to measure the actual practice of the liturgy in the early Reformation period. Rochus von Liliencron, *Liturgisch-musikalische Geschichte der evangelischen Gottesdienste von 1523 bis 1700*, Hildesheim/New York, 1970, p 14.

¹⁰ Wolfgang Musculus, Pastor of the Church of the Holy Cross in Augsburg, attended the Wittenberg Concordia Conference in 1536.

Table 2.1Order of Service for the *Hauptgottesdienst* in Wittenberg, 1533

<u>Kirchen-Ordnung for Wittenberg, 1533</u>	<u>Musculus' Report¹¹</u>
German Canticle: <i>Benedictus</i> , the song of Zachariah, with its short antiphon (Luke 1: 68-79)	
Introit, sometimes in Latin, sometimes in German. When the vernacular is employed a psalm (= German hymn) is to be utilised	Introit (choir and organ)
<i>Kyrie</i> , three-fold, or at times, especially at festivals, nine-fold.	<i>Kyrie (Alternatim praxis: organ-boys)</i>
<i>Gloria</i> (optional, but especially at festivals; when used it is to be preceded by the nine-fold <i>Kyrie</i>)	<i>Gloria (Alternatim: organ-choir)</i>
Collect and Epistle	Collect and Epistle (Latin)
Latin <i>Alleluia</i> , at times also a Gradual (optional)	
German hymn (from Holy Scriptures – if brevity is desired the <i>Alleluia</i> and Gradual can be omitted, just this hymn being sung	Hymn; <i>Herr Gott Vater wohn uns bei</i> (introduced by the organ, sung by the choir)

¹¹ Gould, 1970. The Wittenberg order of service is on p 68, Musculus' report of the service he saw on p 72.

<p>Sequence:</p> <p>Christmas to Purification: <i>Grates nunc omnes</i> combined with the hymn <i>Gelobet seist du</i>, the first verse of the two-verse sequence repeated three times, the second verse once, alternating with the stanzas of the hymn. Easter-Ascension: <i>Victimi paschali laudes</i> combined with the hymn <i>Christ lag in Todesbanden</i> verse by verse. Pentecost: <i>Veni sancte spiritus</i> combined with the hymn <i>Nun bitten wir</i> in a similar manner. (Other possibilities given here, as well as a prohibition)</p>	
Gospel	Gospel (in Latin)
Latin <i>Credo</i> (optional) followed by the German Credo paraphrase: <i>Wir glauben all</i>	German Credo paraphrase: <i>Wir glauben all</i> (organ-choir), followed by the sermon.
The sermon follows the Creed, after which both the Latin and German <i>Da pacem</i> are sung	
<p>Order for communion.....</p> <p>a. German versicle and collect, or a <i>de tempore</i> hymn</p> <p>b. The proper preface or the preface for Trinity (optional)</p> <p>c. The Lord's Prayer and Consecration</p> <p>d. The Words of Institution, and</p>	<p>Order for communion</p> <p>a. Lord's prayer</p> <p>b. Words of institution.....</p>

<p>Elevation</p> <p>e. Administration</p> <p>f. The Latin <i>Sanctus</i> and <i>Agnus Dei</i> are sung during the communion together with the hymns <i>Jesus Christus, unser Heiland</i>, the German <i>Confitebor tibi</i> (Psalm 111), <i>Pange lingua</i> and other <i>de tempore</i> settings</p> <p>After the communion the German <i>Agnus Dei</i> paraphrase, <i>Christe, du Lamm Gottes</i>, is sung if the Latin form has been employed earlier</p> <p>g. Collect '<i>Wir danken Dir</i>'</p>	<p>c. Administration</p> <p>d. <i>Agnus Dei</i> and German hymns such as <i>Jesus Christus, unser Heiland</i> and <i>Gott sei gelobet</i> etc. are sung during the communion</p>
Benediction	German <i>Dankgesang</i> and Benediction

The order according to the *Kirchenordnung* shows Luther's 1523 Latin Mass, with a number of additions, translations and substitutions as envisaged by Luther himself. It would seem from Gould's presentation of Musculus' description of the service that, despite the substitution of many sections by chorales, the choir sang everything, the congregation nothing. Rietschel, however, in his analysis of Musculus' description, assumes that the congregation sang some items, the choir others, and he describes the differing ways in which choir and congregation performed.

It seems that there were two ways of performing the chorales, one congregational, one choral. The German *Credo*, *Wir glauben*, and the Gradual hymn, a *de tempore* chorale which was liturgically speaking one of the most important elements of the service, being chosen to complement the Gospel, were performed *choraliter* by the whole congregation (including choir), with an organ prelude, but with no accompaniment of the singing. But in the *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, Latin *Credo*, *Agnus Dei* (or their German chorale paraphrases), and in the chorales that they sang by themselves,

the choir sang polyphonically complicated versions (*figuraliter*), in *alternatim* with, and probably accompanied by, the organ throughout.¹²

This dichotomy of performance is substantiated by the publication history of the chorale, which at that time was centred on Wittenberg. Even during the first decade during which chorales were published there were two distinct types of publication. On the one hand there was the simple *Enchiridion*¹³ (Hand-book) that presented all the verses of a chorale and sometimes, though not always, the melody. On the other there were the elaborate figural settings, printed in part books, with the complete verbal text only in the tenor book (which part usually carried the melody). It was Luther's friend and colleague Johann Walter (*Kapellmeister* at Wittenberg) who, with his famous 1524 *Geistliche Gesangbüchlein*, produced the first example of this second sort of hymn collection, which became the prototype for all further publications of figural settings of the chorale.¹⁴

How in detail were these two types of setting performed? Regarding those parts of the service that the choir alone sang, interpretation of Musculus' account of their performance at Wittenberg involves a dispute over whether the organ played verses *alternatim* (i. e. 'after') or 'together with' the choir, a dispute which centres on the translation of *succinere*. Rietschel comes to the conclusion that this word means 'to sing after', and that the *alternatim praxis* is being described.¹⁵ He spells out what took place thus:

- the organ played a prelude to the Introit (a Latin motet or a figural setting of a German hymn), which the choir sang;
- the choir sang the *Kyrie alternatim* [nine-fold setting if the *Gloria* were sung];
- the organ gave the priest the note for the *Gloria*, which is then sung *alternatim* between choir and organ;

¹² Wesley K. Morgan, *The Chorale Motet from 1650 to 1750*, University of Southern California, 1956, p 39. Rietschel 1892, p 22, p 64.

¹³ The usual title of these simple hymn books in the first two decades of publishing was *Enchiridion*. Even in the title the slavish imitation of Wittenberg was apparent.

¹⁴ It is instructive that the 1524 edition of Walter's figural settings for Wittenberg survives, but the equivalent *Enchiridion* (if there was one) does not. The earliest Wittenberg *Enchiridion* we know of is from 1529, the earliest surviving one from 1533. Was there, given the way services were conducted in Wittenberg, a much greater demand for the figural settings in Wittenberg than for those of the simpler kind? Jenny 1985, pp 31-35.

¹⁵ Rietschel 1892, p 19.

- the *Agnus Dei* was sung *alternatim*.

Both Rietschel and Gérold¹⁶ conclude, from the fact that the choir sang *alternatim* with the organ, that the choir sang unaccompanied. Blume questions this, saying that the free-and-easy practices (*Freizügigkeit*) mean that any procedure is possible (except organ accompaniment of the congregation).¹⁷ The organ might have accompanied or substituted for the choir; the organ might have played some voice parts of the figural settings; the choir might have been accompanied by instruments. The account we have here is, after all, only for one church, and that one with a very proficient choir.¹⁸ Schering's assessment of the capabilities of the choirs of the time is that they were rarely up to singing polyphonic music at all, let alone doing that unassisted.¹⁹ Choirs were probably, even when singing *alternatim* with the organ, accompanied by it also, even if the ideal, realised perhaps in Wittenberg, was to sing unaccompanied.

¹⁶ Théodore Gérold, *Protestant Music on the Continent*, in *The New Oxford History of Music*, Oxford, 1968, Volume IV, Chapter VIII, p 436.

¹⁷ Blume 1965, p 63.

¹⁸ Possibly the service that Musculus attended was a special occasion, and the choir sang more, and more exclusively, than it usually did. A further possibility is that the congregation was so highly educated and musically literate, so full of specialists of one kind or another (university personnel, students, clergy of various kinds), that the number of genuine 'man-in-the-street' congregational members was very small, and that Musculus was hard put to it to distinguish congregation from choir, or felt that such a distinction was not significant. John Kitchen drew my attention to the fact that in G. T. Thalben-Ball's day the congregational hymns sung in the Temple Church, London, were so elaborately accompanied than none but the most musically aware would have been able to join in, but that the 'congregation' were exceptional and did nevertheless join in.

¹⁹ Arnold Schering, *Evangelische Kirchenmusik*, in Gustav Adler, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, Tutzing, 1961, pp 446-481, p 449, quoted also by Buszin in *Johann Walt(h)er, Composer, Pioneer, and Luther's Musical Consultant*, in *The Musical Heritage of the Church*, Valparaíso Church Music Series, No 3, edited by Theodore Hoelty-Nickel, Valparaíso, 1946, pp 78-110, p 102. Bartels (in Ulrich Bartels, *Vokale und instrumentale Aspekte im musiktheoretischen Schrifttum der 1. Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Band 159 von *Studien zur musikalischen Aufführungspraxis in Deutschland zur Zeit des Frühbarock*, Regensburg, 1989, p 1) credits Schering with 'the radical step of doing away with the romantic ideal of a *cappella* performance' [*räumt hier radikal das romantische a cappella Ideal.... beiseite*].

W. C. Holmes notes, in W. C. Holmes, 'A cappella', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd Edition, ed. S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, (London: Macmillan, 2001, Volume 1, p 46), that there used to be a general unawareness 'that instruments were often used during the Renaissance to substitute for vocal parts'. James G. Smith (*Ibid*, Volume V, pp 767-786, article 'Chorus', p 771) notes that polyphony 'was not infrequently performed by instruments and voices combined [... even if ...] all-vocal performances seemed to have been the ideal'. He goes on to say that the *Cappella Sistina* was famed for all-vocal performances; this suggests that these were far from universal. See also: Peter Schnaus, *Die Musik des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, in *Europäische Musik in Schlaglichtern*, Mannheim/Leipzig/Wien/Zürich, 1990, p 137; Christopher Reynolds, *Chapter 10* in *New Grove Handbooks in Music: Performance Practice in Music before 1600*, edited H. Mayer Brown and S. Sadie, London, 1999, pp 185-221, pp 191-193.

Regarding the performance of congregational chorales generally at this time, Blume concludes that, while there was a wide variety of practice, it is impossible to state exactly what happened.²⁰ The only certainty is that the congregation was not accompanied by the organ. In congregation-only hymns the organ played a prelude (as it did to most musical items in the service), the congregation sang unaccompanied, probably led by the choir. Rietschel implies that at Wittenberg *Wir glauben* was sung straight through (i. e. with no *alternatim*); since the words of this hymn were of fundamental significance it was important that everyone sang them all, so, after the organ prelude, both choir and congregation were left to sing the chorale together unaccompanied. If at Wittenberg (as the *Kirchenordnung* tells us) the congregational hymn was one of those Sequence hymns that had both Latin and German versions, then it seems that the congregations sometimes sang *alternatim* with the choir, the choir singing the Latin version of the hymn.²¹ Whether the special cases of the seasonal hymns in both languages give an exaggerated idea of how much *alternatim* singing there was in the congregational chorales between choir and congregation is an open question. It seems more likely that on ordinary Sundays the choir sang a monolingual hymn *choraliter* along with the congregation; however the *Kirchenordnungen* suggest that either way was possible.²²

What is most striking in Musculus' account, especially if Gould's presentation of it is taken literally, is that the congregation sang so little.²³ Despite Luther's flexible approach, despite the number of chorales in the service, the congregation was not given the opportunity to praise God through song. This seems to have been left mostly or completely to the choir. How was this so? Was this situation general or confined to those churches that had a proficient choir?

²⁰ Blume 1965, p 63.

²¹ Rietschel 1892, p 22.

²² Liselotte Krüger, *Die Hamburgische Musikorganisation*, Straßburg, 1933, p 14, cites Bugenhagen's *Kirchenordnung* to this effect; unless the *Kantorei* was present, the singing must have been in unison, since the choir of Latin Scholars would have been incapable of singing any way other than in unison.

²³ Rietschel 1892, p 22. It seems that in Wittenberg either the congregation sang nothing or (if Rietschel is right) they sang just the German *Credo* and the gradual hymn. The presentation (Gould) of what Musculus described suggests that the choir sang all of the vocal items, both the Greek and Latin parts of the Ordinary, and the German hymns, in *alternatim* with the organ. Rietschel, who analyses Musculus' description, suggests, however, that the congregation sang the German *Credo* (*Wir glauben*) and the gradual hymn certainly (even though Gould's presentation says 'sung by the choir'), and the communion hymns possibly.

This exclusion of the congregation from most of the singing by having the choir sing ‘motet-like settings’ of the chorale substitutes for the Ordinary was, Morgan suggests,²⁴ not confined to Wittenberg, but was common for the time in those churches, like that in Wittenberg, that were known as ‘*Stifter und Domer*’,²⁵ a designation that meant churches that were endowed foundations with trained choirs, large organs and town bands. Wherever there was a sufficiently proficient choir the chorales (including the parts of the Ordinary rendered into German hymns) would mostly have been performed by the choir with organ accompaniment,²⁶ to the exclusion of the congregation’s *choraliter* singing. In the small town or village church, on the other hand, where the schoolmaster, acting as cantor and organist, might have led a choir of schoolchildren, these chorales would have been sung *choraliter*. Here this sort of performance was the norm; all chorales were congregational chorales, and all parts of the Ordinary would have been sung as chorale paraphrases. The problem was, however, that initially very few chorales would have been known. This may be another reason that in Wittenberg the congregation seems to have had so little to sing. Schweitzer’s view is that congregations at this time would perhaps have known 20 or 30 chorales,²⁷ but that even fewer would actually have been needed. The Gradual hymn was the only really necessary variable hymn; if the ordinary were sung using German hymns, then *Allein Gott in der Höh’ sei Ehr* and *Wir glauben* and *O Lamm Gottes* would have been used every week.²⁸ The seasons of the church’s year would have required only five or six chorales as Gradual hymns. But here, perhaps, in the *choraliter* singing of these few hymns, Luther’s ideal of congregational participation would have been realised.

²⁴ Morgan 1956, p 39.

²⁵ The 1523 order of service had been intended for churches so described. Liliencron 1893, p 9, and p 37.

²⁶ Morgan *ibid*, p 39. This same predominance of choir over congregation can be seen to the same extent in Nürnberg 150 years later. See below.

²⁷ Kevorkian 2002, p 36: ‘until the general introduction of hymn books (about 1700) most chorales were sung from memory, and even after, when the flood of new hymns made hymn books a necessity, the old *Kernlieder* were still known from memory.’ Rietschel is also of the opinion that the number of hymns known, and the number of melodies, was very small. Rietschel 1892, p 34.

²⁸ Schweitzer 1911, Volume I, p 31.

2.3 Evidence from the *Kirchenordnungen* of how the chorales were sung. How much did the organ play?

The description of the *alternatim* between choir and congregation for the Latin/German Sequence hymns found in the 1533 Wittenberg *Kirchenordnung* is somewhat unusual. Evidence of *alternatim* between congregation and choir for mono-lingual German hymns is, however, frequent and widespread, but contradictory. On the one hand the 1535 *Kirchenordnung* from Pomerania stipulates *alternatim* between choir and congregation (...*dass das Chor und das Volk einen Vers um den anderen singe,...*²⁹) for the communion hymns, while the organist may join in once to prelude, once in the middle and once at the end, and the *Kirchenordnung* from Braunschweig of 1528 says: ‘straight after the reading the school children and the congregation shall sing one after the other [i. e. *alternatim*] a German song’.³⁰ On the other hand the *Kirchenordnungen* often quite specifically forbid any *alternatim*; the Schleswig-Holstein *Kirchenordnung* of 1542 stipulates that when the *Allein Gott in der Höh’ sei Ehr* is sung as part of the *Gloria*, the hymn shall be sung without interruption to the end;³¹ also for the Gradual hymn ‘the whole congregation shall sing a German hymn without interruption and without the organ.’³² *Alternatim* between choir and congregation seems to have been common without being universal.

While there is evidence in Musculus’ account of *alternatim* between choir and organ, there is none for it between congregation and organ. Although it seems to be taken for granted that the practice was widespread, and that the organ chorales in variation form were intended for it, there is actually relatively little evidence from the *Kirchenordnung* for verse-by-verse *alternatim* between congregation and organ. A 1528 *Kirchenordnung* from Braunschweig almost dismissively permits the organ to join in the Latin *Te deum*, and in the *Magnificat* at Vespers,³³ but these canticles would probably have been sung by the choir rather than the congregation.

²⁹ Rietschel 1892, p 31, “....that the choir and congregation sing verse and verse about.....”

³⁰ *Ibid*, p 27, [...] *Bald nach der Lektion sollen die Laien und die Schüler eins ums andere singen ein deutsches Lied, [.....*

³¹ *Ibid*, p 37,*welcher Gesäng ohne Unterlass bis zum Ende soll gesungen werden ohne Orgeln.*

³² *Ibid*, p 37,*die ganze Kirche einen deutschen Sang wiederum singen soll ohne Unterlass und auch ohne Orgel.*

³³ *Ibid*, pp 28 and 27.

Bugenhagen's and Jonas' interdict on the use of the organ during the Mass at Wittenberg in 1524, admittedly confusingly, likewise allows the organ for the *Te deum*, but also for 'wherever they sing German hymns' as part of the Canon (of the Mass), though this does not actually specify verse-and-verse about *alternatim*.³⁴ It could be that these references, and the one in the 1528 Braunschweig *Kirchenordnung* that says that these canticles 'shall be played several times upon the organ', are specific stipulations for the use of *alternatim* 'verse and verse about' in the *Te deum* and the *Magnificat*.³⁵ If so, this would suggest its confinement to canticles sung by the choir.³⁶ The first mention of the organ playing *alternatim* 'verse and verse about' in a 'Lutheran Psalm' is to be found in 1631, and even there it is with the choir.³⁷ Earlier mention of the organ playing "*unter das Gesang*" and "*unter das Gesang der Kirchen*" (Straßburg, 1598, Pomerania, 1535),³⁸ does not apply to verse-and-verse about *alternatim*. It is very specific about allowing the organist only one or two entrances during the hymn, and that these were not to count as verses, but to be extra, so that all the text would have been sung. A 1535 *Kirchenordnung* from Pomerania says; 'Where there is an organ the organist should be at the organ after the psalmody, and should play for the *responsorium*, the hymns and the *Magnificat*.' Instructions for playing during the communion were; 'When the songs (*Jesus Christus unser Heiland, Gott sei gelobet, O Lamm Gottes*) are sung during the

³⁴ Gould 1970, p 24. Bugenhagen stipulates: 'They are to use the organs (where such already exist), if they wish only on Sunday for the *Te deum laudamus*, and wherever they sing German hymns.however, they ought not to employ the organ in the Mass itself.'

Although 'verse and verse about' might seem a clumsy expression, I use it to translate '*eins ums andere singen*', '*einen Vers um den anderen singe*', '*dass das Chor und das Volk einen Vers um das anderen singe*', '*singen abwechselnd Vers um Vers*', or other similar admittedly awkward German constructions. I take it to mean completely regular alternation between two 'groups'.

³⁵ Rietschel, 1892, p 27; A Braunschweig *Kirchenordnung* of 1528 stipulates that the *Te Deum* in Latin shall be sung at Sunday morning Mass 'it shall be played several times on the organ, as also at Vespers with the hymn and the *Magnificat*. After the singing the boys must have a little time to run around before the Mass starts. For this reason the organist must not play the *Te Deum* on the organ for too long, especially in winter'. [*„das mag man auch zu etlichen Zeiten auf den Orgeln schlagen, als auch zu Vesper den Hymnum und Magnificat. Nach dem Gesange sollen die Kinder Raum habe vor der Messe ein wenig herum zu gehen. Darum muss man das Te deum auf den Orgeln nicht lang schlagen, sonderlich des Winters.“*]

³⁶ An early tradition of verse-and-verse about *alternatim* for these particular pieces, if it were a fact, carries through to the music of Hieronymus Praetorius and Samuel Scheidt, most of whose *alternatim* settings are of the *Magnificat* and Latin Vespers hymns. Even in Pachelbel's time, when whatever elements of *alternatim* there had ever been in congregational chorale had disappeared, this tradition was still alive for the *Magnificat*.

³⁷ Rietschel 1892, p 45.

³⁸ *Ibid*, p 30.

communion organists should make their song with the organ shorter, introducing nothing worldly or trivial. The Pastor is to arrange it so that the contribution of the organ is such that the Psalms during the communion are sung by the whole congregation right to the end, and that the prescribed songs are sung *alternatim*, that the choir and the people sing verse and verse about, that the songs become familiar both to the school children (i. e. the choir) as well as to the congregation. To this end the organist may join in once at the beginning, once in the middle if appropriate³⁹ and once at the end before the collect.’⁴⁰ All this suggests that verse-and-verse-about *alternatim* between congregation and organ was not much used. Might it not also mean that the practice of the organist playing *during* the hymns at all was new, or gradually permitted on sufferance, and that if the congregation was not to sing the whole hymn, then the ideal was *alternatim* between congregation and choir, *choraliter* throughout, so that the whole text would be sung? Perhaps it is also confirmation that the organ was not initially used for congregational hymns at all, apart from playing a prelude to them, and perhaps playing a final fantasia.⁴¹

The general picture of the two types of chorale performance, suggested in the previous section, is modified slightly by this evidence. The choral performance of the chorale is much as described in Musculus’ account. Where resources did not allow this, or when it was thought desirable for the congregation to play its part, the chorales were sung *choraliter*, preceded by a prelude on the organ, with choir and congregation singing *choraliter* either together or in *alternatim*, the organ intervening either not at all or with the occasional verse as an extra. It seems likely also that an intermediate type of performance must have taken place; that a

³⁹ *Ibid*, p 30. ‘Appropriate’ here means at a place where the sense of the words of the hymn is not broken.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p 31. “Wenn diese Gesänge (Jesus Christus unser Heiland, Gott sei gelobet, O Lamm Gottes) unter der Kommunion gesungen werden, sollen die Organisten ihren Gesang mit der Orgel Kommunion mit der ganzen Gemeinde ganz zu Ende singen, und dass die vorgesetzten Gesänge umschichtlich gesungen werden, dass das Chor und das Volk einen Vers um den anderen singe, auf dass sie alle zugleich den Schulen und der Gemeinde gebräuchlich werden. Deswegen kann der Organist einmal zum Anfange, einmal in der Mitten nach Gelegenheit, einmal zum Ende vor der Kollekte orgeln.”

In a similar vein we find the use of *alternatim* restricted; ‘The organist is to play the organ verse and verse about only at High Festivals and on certain Sundays’, says a *Kirchenordnung* which Rietschel does not identify, though he implies that this verse and verse about is between the congregation and the organ. Rietschel 1892, p 27, and footnote.

⁴¹ A discussion of Luther’s view on the use of the organ is given in Appendix 5, p 398.

congregational hymn would have been preceded by a performance of the first verse using a figural setting sung by the choir, especially if the hymn were relatively unknown. One of the purposes of Walter's settings was to demonstrate the melody to the congregation.⁴² Most of his settings are of such well-known hymns that these must have been sung generally by congregations. It seems likely that his settings were used as much as the introductory verse to a *choraliter* performance as for a choir-only performance.

The exact role of the organ in all this is quite clear. There were two types of chorale-based organ piece; the first was the prelude, the purpose of which was to call to mind the tune about to be sung, and to give the appropriate pitch for the singers; the second was the organ element of the *alternatim* exchange, the purpose of which was to substitute for a verse. In view of the later ubiquity of the practice of extemporising fugally on the first line of a chorale, and the number of written-down examples of this genre, it seems safe to assume that from earliest times those organists who could would have introduced the chorale by extemporising in this way. Those who could not doubtless availed themselves of simple harmonisations of the chorale tune such as are found in the *Tabulaturbücher* of the time, which harmonisations could, besides functioning as preludes, also have been used as substitute verses in the *alternatim* performance. More skilful organists would, for their contribution to the *alternatim*, doubtless have extemporised colorations of more complicated vocal *cantus-firmus* settings of the chorales, such as those written by Walther, Rhau and a whole phalanx of their successors. The fugal prelude turned into the chorale fantasy, acquiring in North Germany more elaborate elements that originated in the practice of playing extempore colorations of chorale motets, and more highly-developed organ technique. The harmonisations of the whole tune turned into *cantus-firmus* type organ chorales, plain or decorated. Schering is even of the opinion that the complicated vocal settings in the style of Walther's *Gesangbuch* were rarely sung, rather that the *cantus firmus* only was sung, the other parts being

⁴² Rietschel, p 28; 'An diesen ist es genug, die der Chor langsam und deutlich singen soll, dass sie das Volk durch blosses Anhören und aus Gewohnheit lerne und mitsingen könne.' *Kirchenordnung* for Neuen-Rade, 1564. [For this it is sufficient for the choir to sing slowly and clearly, so that the people simply by hearing and getting used to the tune will be able to learn it and sing along.] This passage actually refers to the practice of getting the choir to sing the hymns to the congregation before the start of the service, but the idea is the same as that which lies behind Walter's settings.

played on wind instruments, part of the *Kantorei*, who played ‘*in die Orgel*’ whenever the *Kantorei* was singing.⁴³ When the *Kantorei* was not present and the service was sung by the scholars, then the organ played the other parts while the choir sang the melody. Thus a good simulacrum of the chorale motet could always be heard. If there were no choir present the organ could play all the parts, either straight or coloured, and the result would be a *cantus-firmus*-type organ chorale. Where it is mentioned in the orders of service that the organist should play a motet, this could mean either an extemporised intabulation of a polyphonic motet or a chorale motet (since these were interchangeable when sung). Well before any written-down examples of organ chorales can be adduced there must have been a lively tradition of such pieces, played extempore in varying degrees.

2.4 The period of the production of the *Kantionalen*. An attempt to improve the congregational singing of the chorales.

The practice of singing chorales in figural settings must have flourished in the later year of the sixteenth century. Composers such as Walther, Rhau and their successors would not have written this type of setting in such large numbers if these had not been used. And even the performances of ‘congregational’ hymns in churches that had a full musical establishment, where most hymns were sung in figural settings, must have been satisfactory, for in such churches the various musical formations collectively known as the *Kantorei*, recruited from the children of the Latin school attached to the church, and the *Kantoreigesellschaft*, recruited from the local middle classes, functioned, liturgically speaking, as the ‘congregation’.⁴⁴ Morgan⁴⁵ says that

⁴³ Schering 1961; Schering opines (p 449) that the choirs would not have been sufficiently skilful to sing Walther’s settings *a cappella*. In Krüger 1933 there is a detailed assessment of the role of the players attached to the *Kantorei* and their practice of ‘*Blasen-in-die-Orgel*’ (pp 118 foll.); she is unable to say exactly what they played, but their presence must suggest that there was instrumental participation in the chorale performances over and above the organ. Instrumentalists apart from organists started appearing first in churches from the middle of the sixteenth century; Krüger states that the first recorded participation of instruments in the service in St. Jacobi Church, Hamburg, was in 1548. Krüger 1933, p 54.

⁴⁴ John Butt, *Music education and the art of performance in the German Baroque*, Cambridge, 1994, p 3, p 5, p 20, gives an overview of the connection between the performance of music in church and the education of the boys who were expected to deliver this performance; Schrade (Leo Schrade, *The Choral Music of the Kantorei*, in *The Musical Heritage of the Lutheran Church*, edited by Theodore

the *Kantoreigesellschaft* ‘...especially.....in all probability shouldered most (if not all) of the responsibility that in an ideal and aesthetic sense should have been that of the congregation.’ Luther himself had seen the purpose of the *Kantoreigesellschaften* as ensuring congregational participation in the musical elements of the service.⁴⁶ If such a congregation were singing a chorale, a suitable organ prelude and a performance of one of Walter’s figural settings for the first verse would have been followed by a healthy *choraliter* sound from combined choirs and congregation for the rest of the hymn.

The situation was different in smaller churches that could not field the resources to sing figural music. Here the congregational singing, *choraliter*, was poor indeed, and judging from the views of the writers of the *Kantionalen* it seems to have been a general cause for concern. Liliencron draws attention to the problem, ascribing it to the efflorescence of figural settings of the chorales, which, in a vicious-circle situation, were written and performed because the congregation did not like to sing much, but the performance of which then rendered the congregation more and more passive. As Schweitzer, alluding to Rietschel, says; ‘congregational singing, instead of gaining ground, was in the course of the sixteenth century driven back by the art-singing and by the organ, the pretensions of the latter increasing everywhere, in spite of all ordinances.’⁴⁷ Schweitzer and Liliencron must mean not only the singing by the congregations of the smaller churches but also the part played by the genuine man in the pew in the large churches, rather than the artificial ‘congregational’ groupings found there. Perhaps the rich possibilities for congregational singing in the large churches disguised the situation of the real congregations, that is, the ordinary people in both large and small churches. While the elaborate figural style of performance flourished, the simple unison congregational style atrophied.

Lukas Osiander, the first person to write a *Kantional*, was working in a relatively privileged situation, a court church, yet found the congregational participation there

Hoelty-Nickel, Valparaiso, Indiana, 1947, pp 128-139,) discusses how various groups of parishioners contributed to the congregational choral sound in the large town churches.

⁴⁵ Morgan 1956, p 43.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p 32.

⁴⁷ Schweitzer 1911, Volume I, p 31. Liliencron 1893, pp 88-89; ‘*Der figurale Liedergesang des Chores ist in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts in raschem Zuwachs begriffen.* [The figural settings of the hymns sung by the choir in the second half of the sixteenth century grew in significance by leaps and bounds.]

less than satisfactory. The impetus behind his writing his *Kantional*⁴⁸ was certainly, as his Preface tells us, the need to improve congregational singing. His achievement is seen as the creation of a style of hymn singing that survives in the way we sing hymns today; his settings are the prototypes of our modern four-part harmonisations. While the melody in Walter's settings is usually in the tenor, Osiander wrote settings with it in the cantus. Instead of Walter's polyphony Osiander writes the simplest homophony,⁴⁹ and his harmony consists almost completely of root-position chords. Received opinion about these settings of 108 hymns, mostly *Kernlieder*, is that they were written in a style that was rhythmically simple enough, and the tune audible enough, to allow a congregation to join in.

Yet the automatic assumption that Osiander's versions of the chorales were intended to boost the congregational singing simply by acting as an accompaniment are called into question by a number of considerations. Would a choir of twelve voices or fewer singing them have really been able to act as a support for the congregational sound, as an anchor that would hold the congregation? Schweitzer, in voicing his criticism of Osiander's approach, underlines this objection by saying that it was only a half-measure, that Osiander should either have had the choir sing in unison to give a lead,⁵⁰ or else have the whole congregation singing in four parts.⁵¹ His question; '..... what support could the harmonies of the choir give for a *cantus firmus* sung by a mass of people?' seems completely pertinent. Morgan also shows himself doubtful when he says, in commenting on the phrase in Osiander's preface, "so the whole Christian congregation may sing along throughout", that

'this cannot be taken in a literal sense. Apparently the song books were given only to the choir who sang the written parts. It was his [Osiander's] intention that by placing the tune in the soprano the congregation would thus more easily recognize the tune, and enter into the singing in a more spirited manner. However, there is no evidence that this took place.'⁵²

⁴⁸ Lukas Osiander, *Fünffzig Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen*, Nürnberg, 1586, based on chorales in the official Württemberg hymn book of 1583.

⁴⁹ A very few of Walter's settings are in fact simple in the way that Osiander's are.

⁵⁰ This, it seems, is what they actually normally did until the end of the sixteenth century; Liliencron [Liliencron 1893, pp 86-87] points out that this way of leading the congregation was mentioned in many *Kirchenordnungen*; it means, of course, that there is no real *alternatim*.

⁵¹ Schweitzer 1911, Volume I, p 32.

⁵² Morgan 1956, p 30.

Morgan cites Schweitzer as evidence for this view, but the passage, already alluded to, does not entirely confirm Morgan's reading. His other citation, Gebhardt 1879-82, I have been unable to see.

Although Osiander's preface says *mitsingen*, normally seen as meaning 'to sing along with', this is perhaps not what he intended. *Mitsingen* might mean just singing the hymn together with the choir, taking part in the same performance with the choir. If it was intended that all the verses of the hymn should be sung by the choir, why were they not all printed in all the part books? Might it not rather be, however, since only the choir had Osiander's four-part version, that this was not intended to be sung *with* the congregation, but rather to function as a chorale motet, to be sung as the first verse to allow the congregation to hear the tune, more clearly now since it was in the cantus? Osiander's version was in a simple rhythm, the one the congregation would shortly sing, and there were no contrapuntal distractions. Liliencron certainly thinks that Osiander viewed his versions as '*Figuralgesang*', as something that was performed for the congregation rather than with them.⁵³ I suggest that a performance of the hymns might have involved an organ prelude, verse one from the choir in Osiander's version, verse two *choraliter* from the congregation, then either some continuing *alternatim* performance which *might* involve the choir singing its version for another verse,⁵⁴ or just a simple *choraliter* performance for the rest of the hymn. Another consideration is that while Osiander may well have had certain intentions in mind when writing the book, this does not necessarily mean that it was used in the way he intended.

It might be argued that Osiander would not have gone to the trouble of writing a setting unless he intended it to be used for every verse. But the idea of accompanying each verse in exactly the same way stems from a modern view of hymn accompanying. While the *choraliter* singing must indeed have been monotonous, each verse the same, accompanied singing always involved a change of accompaniment for each verse; thus in choir-only hymns the accompaniment, if any,

⁵³ Liliencron 1893, p 94: 'The choir remains the chief element; the congregation is merely incorporated into it and is thereby elevated into the circle of the *figural* music.' [*Der Chor bleibt hier der Hauptsache: er gliedert sich die Gemeinde nur ein und erhebt sie in den Kreis des Figuralgesangs.*] A fuller discussion of this point is given in Appendix 5, p 401.

⁵⁴ Indeed Osiander's Preface states that his settings also received their impetus from a desire to decorate the tunes. (*..und dennoch diese Musik daneben zur Zierde diese Gesanges ihren Fortgang hat.* [Osiander's Preface to his *Kantional*])

and the organ interludes, both being extempore, would necessarily have been different each time; using a complicated figural setting such as one of Walter's would have been very tedious. Blume says that the fact that only the tenor part had all the verses of the hymn, the other part books having only the words of the first verse, proves nothing; it must nevertheless mean something. If Walter could write complicated settings and expect to hear them once only at each performance, Osiander could have done the same. Their basic purpose was to let the congregation hear the chorale tune. Ironically the very simplicity of Osiander's settings makes them more acceptable when used for every verse, and this is what has happened to this type of setting in modern times, but I do not think that they would have been so used when they were written; they were a replacement for the complicated figural settings that disguised rather than highlighted the melody, and their perceived advantage was that the congregation could hear the tune well enough to imitate it.

Schweitzer also dismisses the idea of the organ's boosting the congregational singing, citing as evidence Osiander's failure to mention that it was not involved with congregational singing at that time. While indeed many organs of that time (1586), because so relatively small of sound, would have been no more effective at boosting the congregational singing than a choir of twelve, and while the *Kirchenordnungen* of the time make clear the limits of the organ's involvement in the services,⁵⁵ technology was advancing, and but a few years later (1604) the preface of the Hamburg hymn book (in which town organ technology was at its most advanced) mentions that the custom of accompanying the congregation with the organ was usual there.

A large number of *Kantionalen* appeared in response to Osiander's work. That of Hans Leo Hassler (*Psalmen und geistliche Lieder auff die gemeinen Melodeyn mit vier Stimmen simpliciter gesetzt*, Nürnberg, 1608)⁵⁶ imitates Osiander's in having its

⁵⁵ Rietschel 1892, p 29, gives a lengthy quotation from the Straßburg *Kirchenordnung* of 1598 admonishing that the organ should not interfere with the congregational singing; '*Jedoch soll in allewege dahin gesehen werden, dass solche figurata Musica und das Orgeln weder das gemeine Gesang der ganzen Kirchen noch den übrigen Gottesdienst mit Predigen und Beten verhindere und zu lange aufhalte.*' ["Nevertheless it is to be everywhere understood that such figural music and the organ are neither to interfere with the congregational singing nor to make the rest of the service with its sermon and prayers too long."]

⁵⁶ [Psalms and spiritual songs set to their usual melodies in a simple four-part style.]

settings in four parts with the tune in the soprano. In his preface Hassler says that he ‘set a number of years before some number of German spiritual songs in simple counterpoint in four voices in such a way that they could be sung in the Christian services by the common man *along with the figural music*..... I have now composed the other songs and Psalms....in a similar manner, not, it is true, using subtle and great art, but as for simple Christian hearts.....’⁵⁷ This is confusing, since the previous settings to which Hassler refers as being composed ‘in a similar manner’ to this one are full-blown chorale motets (the 1607 *Psalmen und Christliche Gesäng* ⁵⁸) in four parts, in the chorale-motet style, each one setting usually one verse of the hymn, taking each line of the chorale as a contrapuntal point.⁵⁹ Whether it was intended that the congregation should join in with settings in the 1608 *Kantional*, the one composed along the lines of Osiander’s, or even whether the instruction ‘along with the figural music’ means that the congregation joined in the 1607 polyphonic settings, cannot be determined. Rietschel cites the latter collection as exemplifying the possibility of its being a set of organ accompaniments for congregational singing, while saying that this was unlikely to have happened at the time.⁶⁰

Johann Eccard’s *Kantional* (seen by Liliencron as the finest of them all) ⁶¹ shows a typical later alteration of the format in being in five parts, rather than four, as indeed

⁵⁷ Preface to Hassler, 1608 *Psalmen und geistliche Lieder*. [My italics in the English]

⁵⁸ Hassler was a Roman Catholic for most of his life, and most of his music was written for the Catholic rites, including many motets and Mass settings which are in the style of Netherlandish Renaissance polyphony, but influenced by his training in Italy. His conversion late in life to Protestantism brought with it an enthusiasm for the chorales of the Lutheran church; his first essay into the chorale motet repertoire, the 1607 collection, are *a capella* motets; to say they are ‘Catholic’ in style is to miss the fact that the Lutheran chorale motet retained the Renaissance polyphonic style until its rather sudden demise in 1620 or so, and the only difference between it and the ‘Catholic’ motet was the language of the text. Besides which the Latin text of the Ordinary as well as other Latin texts were so much in use in the Lutheran Church that ‘Catholic’ music was as useful to Lutherans as any; collections of music of the time intended for use in the Lutheran Church included items by Catholic musicians, and Lutheran musicians continued to write Latin Masses and Motets in the Renaissance style.

⁵⁹ The exceptions in this set, where all the verses are set, are the settings of *Vater unser*, *Wir glauben*, *Aus tiefer Not* and *Ach Gott von Himmel sieh darein*, which set all the verses; these settings are strikingly like Scheidt chorale partitas, with the first verse a *Choralricercar*, the other verses being *cantus-firmus* settings with which the congregation could theoretically have joined in; since all the verses of these hymns are set, *alternatim* performance seems not to have been intended.

⁶⁰ Rietschel, 1892, p 48.

⁶¹ Liliencron 1893, p 94. ‘*Die Krone der künstlerischen Vollendung dieser zum Mitsingen der Gemeinde gedachten Mehrstimmigkeit gebühret dem großen Königsberger Meister Johannes Eccard in seinen 55 geistlichen Liedern von 1597.*’ [The apogee of the artistic development of this polyphony designed with the participation of the congregation in mind is represented by the 55 spiritual songs of the famous master from Königsberg, Johannes Eccard.]

were many of the later *Kantionalen*. Instructive, however, is Eccard's Preface; although he uses the words '*zugleich mit einstimmen*', suggesting, as with *mitstimmen*, the idea of 'singing along with', his other remarks make it clear that this is not what was intended. He says that he hopes his work will be of service to the congregation 'who will be able to hear clearly and distinctly the usual tune in the *discantus* and will be able, *by themselves*, according to their devotion, *to imitate it*.....the common man will the better be able to hear the usual tune and his singing will thereby the better and easier come to pass.'⁶² Rietschel nevertheless criticises the result, maintaining that Eccard, in his anxiety to do justice to the aspirations of the choir, writes counterpoint to the tunes that overlaps the chorale lines. If indeed singing along were intended, then that would be a valid criticism. Might not the case be, however, that, *pace* the Preface, it was intended that the congregation should hear the first verse sung in this manner, and then join in for the subsequent verses?

The *Kantional* of Bartholomäus Gesius of 1594/1601 reinforces the point. Again this collection is in five parts with the tune in the *discantus*; again in his preface, having used the word *mitsingen*, Gesius states that in order to help the Cantors in schools and churches 'such songs are pleasantly, sweetly and usefully audible to the Christian congregation, when (if) they are used *alternatim* between choir and organ, that is, that a boy with a beautiful, pure voice sings one verse with the organ, after which the second verse is sung by the *chorus musicus* (the choir), and that therefore everyone can, along with the *concentu*, both hear the words in an understandable fashion set to the usual melody, and sing along with this.....'⁶³ Rietschel interprets this as a radical new departure, that the congregation joins in an *alternatim* performance between choir and organ, thus for the first time the organ accompanies the congregation. He (Rietschel) elsewhere rhapsodises rhetorically over the possibility that Eccard's versions could have been played on the organ with the chorale on a solo stop, the other parts played quietly, thus providing what he sees as

⁶² Rietschel 1892, p 50; '*welche die gewöhnliche Kirchenmelodei aus dem Discantu wohl und verständlich hören und bei sich selbst, nach ihrer Andacht singend, imitieren könne.*' (My italics in the English)

⁶³ *Ibid*, p 51: '*dass solcher Lieder bei der christlichen Gemeinde sonderlichen angenehm auch lieblich und nützlichen anzuhören sein, wenn sie alternatim in choro und organo gebraucht werden, also, dass ein Knabe mit lieblicher, reiner stimme einen Vers in organo mitsinge, darauf den andern Vers der chorus musicus, und also jedermann neben dem concentu auch die verständliche Wort in gebräuchlicher und gewöhnlicher Melodie hören und mitsingen kann, welches dann ohne grossen und merklichen Nutzen nicht abgehet.*'

an ideal accompaniment.⁶⁴ Such an accompaniment would of course have been an organ chorale, and could also have been played without the singer. Here, however, he is suggesting that the congregation could join in this organ verse of the choir/organ *alternatim*.

This last is an intriguing possibility. One objection to *alternatim* between voices and instruments had always been that the words of the instrumental verses were not sung. One way round this was not to count the organ verse as a particular verse, but to sing all the verses anyway and consider the organ verse as extra.⁶⁵ To leave out words was obviously unsatisfactory to a church where the word was considered so important.⁶⁶ To have someone sing the melody even when the congregation didn't was a much better solution than just hearing the tune played. It is my view that this procedure described by Eccard, a simple but not completely homophonic organ accompaniment (not necessarily the harmonisation in the *Kantional*) to a chorale melody sung in unison by the choir, became a routine. This routine was at first improvised; not until Scheidt's *Tabulatura Nova* was any such accompaniment written down. However, what excites Rietschel is that Eccard's prescription could have applied equally to the congregation. As he implies elsewhere, he believes it was the congregation's joining in the figural music that led to the idea of its being accompanied on the organ, but he doubts whether this step was taken in Eccard's time. It seems to me that it was the changes in circumstances caused by the Thirty

⁶⁴ Rietschel 1892, p 55. '*Wenn die Oberstimme als Melodie, laut und tönend der Gemeinde sich zur Führerin anbot? Wenn die begleitenden figurierten Unterstimmen auf den leiseren Registern der Orgel gespielt, nicht so selbständig, wie bei der Ausführung durch den Chor die Gemeinde verwirrend, sich geltend machen?*' ['What if the highest part as melody, loud and resonant, were to offer itself as the leader of the congregation? What if the accompanying figural underneath parts, played on quiet stops on the organ, not so assertively as to confuse the congregation, as happens in a performance by the choir, were to be put into effect?'] Does this prescription have any bearing on the rise at this time of the Sesquialtera stop, situated in the *Rückpositiv* closest to the choir, a 'sharp-sounding' stop, the primary purpose of which was to carry the chorale melody? Does the fact that the *cantus firmus* in most organ chorales calling for this stop is highly decorated blind us to possibility of its use for accompanying, or even to the possibility that such decorated versions might nevertheless have been used as accompaniments?

⁶⁵ This became the usual policy, so that none of the words was left out. Krüger 1933, p 113; Rietschel 1892, p 31.

⁶⁶ Rietschel points out the criticism of Azpilcueta Navarrus (after 1586) of the practice of *alternatim* between choir and organ, not a criticism of the practice in itself, but because the choristers chatted during the organ verses. A remedy for this was for each chorister to whisper to himself for himself the words that were being left out during the organ verses. Carl Borromäus proposed a similar routine, except that the choir should declaim the words. This all applies to the Roman Catholic church, of course. Whether these expedients were ever resorted to in the Lutheran church I do not know. Rietschel 1892, pp 13-14.

Years War that finally brought it about, a topic I shall explore extensively shortly. What had been accompaniment for the choir was to become accompaniment of the congregation.

2.5 Organ accompaniment of the congregation as a general phenomenon. Scheidt's *Tabulatura Nova*

Whether Rietschel is correct in his interpretations or not, there is no doubt that the idea of the organ's accompanying the congregation was an idea the time for which had come. The practice of Hamburg, enshrined in the preface to the 1604 Hamburg hymn book,⁶⁷ edited by the organists of that city, most prominent of whom then was Hieronymus Praetorius, has already been cited, and mention of the practice in print suggests that it had been usual for some time. This was the period of the great Hamburg organ builder Hans Scherer the Elder, when organs were growing considerably in size and power.⁶⁸ The practice of accompanying the congregation on the organ was nevertheless a rarity for the time. But by the time of the next definite mention of the organ's being used as an accompanying instrument for congregational singing, in Siegmund Theophilus Staden's Preface to his reissue of Hassler's 1608 *Kantional* in 1637, the custom must have been reasonably common (though far from universal). Staden was the organist of the *Lorenzkirche* in Nürnberg, and he writes:

I have felt obliged and yet also have very much wanted to dedicate and inscribe this work of mine specially to my above-mentioned gracious lord, powerful patron and valuable friend, [.....] partly also to my dear and loyal colleagues, who by their organ playing keep the congregation on the right lines when it comes to singing the hymn tunes.'⁶⁹

⁶⁷ The Preface to *Melodeyen Gesangbuch, darinn D Luthers vnd ander Christen gebreuchlichsten Gesänge.....usw.*, Hamburg, 1604, states '....und die Orgel hinwiederum in den Gesang spielet [als nunmehr in dieser Stadt gebräuchlich...']. [....and the organ accompanies the [congregational] singing, as is now usual in this city....'] RISM, DKL, p 148.

⁶⁸ See Gustav Fock, *Hamburg's Role in Northern European Organ Building*, Hamburg 1939, translated by Lynn Edwards, and Edward C. Pepe, Easthampton, Mass., 1997, for a thorough discussion of how the Organ builders of Hamburg set the pace of development at this crucial time in the development of the North German Baroque organ.

⁶⁹ Rietschel 1892, p 49; '*Diese meine Arbeit habe ich sonderlich dediciren und zuschreiben sollen und wollen oben gesetzten meinen Grossgünstigen Herrn, mächtigen Patronen und werthen Freunden [....] theils auch als meinen lieben und getreuen Collegen, welche durch die Orgel die Gemein bei rechter Melodei Höhe und Tiefen zusammen halten.*'

It is assumed that this refers directly to the organ's keeping the congregation in tune by its being played along with it. Like the mention of the similar practice in H. Praetorius' preface to his 1604 hymn book, we must assume that the mention of it in



Plate 6 Johann and his son Theophilus Staden, who were (as were Johann and Hieronymus Pachelbel) both organists of St. Sebaldus' Church, Nürnberg.

(Stadtsbibliothek, Nürnberg)

print means that it had been in general use for some time before that. How did this come about? How was it that in a few short years the organ came from being something of a pariah, something tolerated provided it did not get in the way of congregational singing, to being the bedrock of just that singing?

We have seen hints that the situation was changing before Staden wrote his preface to Hassler's *Kantional*. Rietschel, however, is confused in his analysis of how this happened. On the one hand he says that, describing Staden's accompaniments:

Using this simple homophonic, not figural, form of accompaniment the organ in the 17th century turned into the accompaniment instrument for the congregation.⁷⁰

On the other hand he says:

⁷⁰ Rietschel 1892, p 49: "In dieser einfach harmonischen, nicht figurierten Form der Begleitung ist demnach die Orgel in dem 17. Jahrhundert als Begleitinstrument in Gebrauch gekommen."

However it was exactly this development of the figural chorales, as suggested by Eccard, which was to lead in the most complete measure to the organ's becoming the accompaniment instrument for the congregation.⁷¹

He seems uncertain as to whether the idea of using the organ as an accompanying instrument came from figural music, or from the simple *Kantional* style. Certainly he has said that although it seems obvious that the way of singing congregational hymns must have developed completely separately from figural music, such was not the case, and in fact our accompanying congregational hymns actually developed precisely from figural music. Nevertheless he cites a number of situations where our current method of accompanying hymns might have been stumbled upon by the users of the *Kantionalen*. Had someone thought to play Osiander's settings on the organ; had Hassler's *Kantional* versions been used as an organ accompaniment; if Schein's figured-bass versions had been transferred to the organ; had Gesius' *Kantional* settings been a little more simple; then we would have had the situation we have today, a simple homophonic accompaniment played on the organ supporting a congregation singing in unison. But none of these things happened, and for reasons already rehearsed (many organs, and four-part choirs, were too weak to support a congregation), they could not have happened.

Next Rietschel suggests that a variation of Eccard's prescription, an organ accompaniment in which the melody was played on a solo stop, was the recipe that solved the problem. Eccard himself, however, when extolling the virtues of a *Kantional*-style setting, surely had in mind a purely choral version in which the cantus part singing the melody stood out. To translate this to the organ, while perhaps representing actual practice, is Rietschel's idea; to attribute it to Eccard gives him undeserved credit. Even so, I think Rietschel is correct; it may well have been just that style of organ accompaniment, a solo line against a background of quieter stops, that was to become the type of organ accompaniment of which Staden talks. But Rietschel gives us no idea of how that was arrived at; instead, he goes off into raptures about J. S. Bach. When we next hear of congregational accompaniment, it is an established fact.

⁷¹ Rietschel, 1892, p 55: "*Aber gerade diese Entwicklung des figurierten Gesangs, die von Eccard anhebt, führt in der vollkommensten Weise die Orgel dem Gemeindegesange als Begleiterin zu.*"

The missing link in Rietschel's argument centres on a musician whom he does not mention, Samuel Scheidt. Scheidt's achievements were immense, but the one that concerns this argument is the publication of *Tabulatura Nova* in 1624. This today is seen as the first collection of organ chorales, and its publication stands at the beginning of an immense flood of similar compositions (if not publications), besides making the organ chorale into a genre that existed on paper, rather than as an improvisatory practice. But Scheidt's publication was not primarily of a set of organ pieces. His intention was to show how to treat the chorale in a service, and his work is connected with the practice of worship in Halle where he lived and worked.

Scheidt's chorale settings in *Tabulatura Nova* correspond to Rietschel's description of Eccard's prescription. Leaving aside for the moment the opening polyphonic fantasy movement (*Choralricercar*) with which many of Scheidt's chorale variation cycles start, the other movements are *cantus-firmus* settings in which very often the chorale melody is played on a solo pedal stop. It is my belief that Scheidt was writing down what had become the standard practice for accompanying the chorales. Admittedly these particular versions were perhaps intended for feast days, and were probably more complicated than the improvised forms usually used, which may have resembled the settings in the *Görlitzer Tabulaturbuch*. At the time Scheidt wrote them, of course, these accompaniments were designed with the choir in mind, but during the years between 1621 and 1637, a time of great upheaval, this style of accompaniment, or perhaps a slightly simplified version of it, came to be used for the congregational hymns also. This style of accompaniment is figural music. It bears only an indirect relation to the version in the *Kantionalen*. But, as Rietschel in part maintains, it was from figural music that the idea of organ accompaniment of the congregation came.

Why do I believe that Scheidt's pieces are accompaniments rather than self-standing organ pieces? This view stems from the similarity in structure between the organ chorale cycles in *Tabulatura Nova*, and Scheidt's *Cantiones Sacrae*. These choral pieces (and Hassler's 1607 *Psalmen und Christliche Gesäng*, which are exactly similar in structure, and very similar in general style, to Scheidt's) are descendents of Walter's chorale motet settings. But while Walter's pieces are all *cantus-firmus* settings, Scheidt's pieces (at least the majority of them that set only the

first verse of the chorale) are not; they are rather imitations of the Latin motets that had wide currency even until J. S. Bach's day, with a good admixture of the Italian polychoral style. They set the first verse of a chorale, using the lines of the melody as fugal elements in large-scale structures that never state the chorale melody as a *cantus-firmus*. But while most of the items in both collections are like this, setting only the first verse of each chorale, four of Hassler's settings and two of Scheidt's set all the verses. The following verses in these settings are all *cantus-firmus* settings, very much in the Walter tradition, but also, apart from the fact of having words, are indistinguishable from the *cantus-firmus* organ chorales in Scheidt's variation cycles for organ. Indeed, one verse of Scheidt's *Vater unser* organ setting is an exact reworking of a verse of the choral setting.

Bukofzer has stated that Scheidt imitated in his 1620 *Cantiones Sacrae* his organ chorales (1624).⁷² Given that the dates are the wrong way round, but not only for that reason, it must be the other way round. The organ chorale cycles are chorale motets for the organ. And not only are they the same in structure, they must be the same in liturgical purpose. Scheidt played at a church (St. Moritz) in Halle that had the services of the *Kantorei* for festivals only on rare occasions.⁷³ He was therefore called upon to provide festal music without a choir, or only with the schoolchildren. These organ cycles are his answer to the problem. If the schoolchildren were present they could have sung the chorales as he played; if they were not there the pieces could have stood by themselves.

Tabulatura Nova, a compendium of keyboard genres in general, and also of Scheidt's keyboard music to date, codifies both the compositional technical possibilities as Scheidt saw them, and also the use of the organ chorale in the liturgy. It was published, under threat of the impending investment of Halle, in such haste that the third part is full of mistakes and completely out of proper order.⁷⁴ Within the

⁷² Manfred F. Bukofzer, *Music in the Baroque Era*, London 1948, p 84.

⁷³ Mahrenholz, in Christhard von Mahrenholz, *Samuel Scheidt, Sein Leben und sein Werk*, Leipzig 1924, p 52, gives a short description of the choral arrangements in Halle. The *chorus musicus*, probably the only group capable of singing figural music, circulated around the churches, appearing in St. Moritz only when a festival had three days. Thus St. Moritz drew very much the short straw. In the absence of this group a choir of schoolchildren, the *Schulchor*, sang the services, probably *choraliter* only.

⁷⁴ The original edition has a contents page in the 'correct' order, but this does not correspond to the contents. While Mahrenholz' edition restores the pieces to their 'correct' order, Vogel's does not. This

whole work there are several settings of Latin hymns, always called *Hymnus*, and a number of German hymn settings, called *Cantio Sacra*, *Psalm* or *Psalmus*.⁷⁵ All the chorale settings, with the exception of the extended Fantasia on *Ich ruf' zu dir*, which is in the style of M. Praetorius' chorale fantasies,⁷⁶ are sets of variations.

I propose to analyse some of these sets of variations in detail. Those sets of variations that are in Part Three of the complete work, Latin hymns for Vespers, and the *Magnificat* settings, as well as a setting of *Jesus Christus unser Heiland*, are configured in a certain way. I shall refer to all of these as the Latin hymns. Configured somewhat differently are the settings of the German hymns found in Parts one and two; these include the setting of *Christe, qui lux es et dies* found in Part two (Number VII). This would seem to be a Latin setting, but, despite its title and being labelled *Psalmus*, is in fact a setting of the German hymn *Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht*, and conforms in all particulars to the other German settings. It is not to be confused with the setting of the Latin hymn of the same name (from which hymn the German hymn is derived), a setting of which is to be found in Part three (Number XIII), and it will be considered as a German setting.

Since the *Magnificat* 'variations' are labelled with the verbal *incipits* of the even-numbered verses of the text, these pieces are obviously meant to be performed *alternatim*; probably the Latin hymns are also. The *Magnificats* and the Latin hymns

seems to me to be taking 'authenticity' too far. It is obvious that the correct order makes most sense of the contents. Mahrenholz, Preface to *Tabulatura Nova III*.

⁷⁵ The other pieces in the compilation include fugues, an echo fantasia, 'secular' fantasies, variations on secular melodies and some canons. This discussion is confined to those works based on chorale melodies, and the Latin hymns.

⁷⁶ Mahrenholz 1924, p 59. Mahrenholz says that this hymn was set to finish the service in the *Moritzkirche* (where Scheidt played) when there was no communion; did it then function as a kind of final voluntary? Interestingly enough, the 1625 Liegnitz order gives another musical signing off of the service, the alternative of a motet after the sermon when there is no communion to follow; admittedly this is followed by a German hymn or another motet before the final hymn. (Liliencron 1893, pp 122-123) That Scheidt felt moved to write down what is in effect a closing voluntary must show that the practice, doubtless previously carried out extempore, was usual by this time. Krüger assumes that it was usual in the sixteenth century, and that the efflorescence of free compositions of a virtuoso nature at the beginning of the seventeenth century meant that organists had learned to use the spot to show off their technique. (Krüger 1933, pp 128-129) Williams, however, talking about practice in Leipzig in the 1700s, states that it was not usual in many churches, and casts doubts on whether such giants as Handel and Kuhnau, famous for their ability to play an extempore prelude and fugue, actually ever did so after a service. (Peter Williams, *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach, A Background*, Cambridge 1984, Volume III, pp12-14.)

(and *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland*) are consistently constructed in having the first verse as a fugal *Choralricercar*, with each line of the chorale melody worked out as a point; the following verses, all discrete entities, are *cantus-firmus* settings of varying degrees of contrapuntal subtlety, written often with the possibilities of playing the *cantus firmus* on the pedals in mind; each set, however, has one *bicinium*; some of these *bicinia* are *cantus-firmus* settings, some are not. It is noteworthy that the majority of Scheidt's cycles, and the most consistently structured, are the settings of those Latin Vesper hymns and the *Magnificats* that H. Praetorius also set. In trying to tease out how the *alternatim* performance of Scheidt's Latin hymn cycles would work I have used Eler's 1588 (MiEler1588) Hamburg hymn book, the basis for H. Praetorius' settings of the same hymns, to find out how many verses each hymn had. While Praetorius' settings have far too few verses for the hymn to be performed verse and verse about, even counting the organ verses as a substitute for one of the sung verses (thus leaving out some text), most of Scheidt's settings seem to match exactly the number of verses in the hymn texts. However, *Veni creator* with 8 text verses cannot be performed verse and verse about, since Scheidt wrote only two *cantus-firmus* settings (plus the opening *Choralricercar*). His setting of *O Lux beata* contrariwise has far too many organ verses (*Choralricercar*, *bicinium* and five other verses) to be used for a hymn that has only three verses in its text (though perhaps Scheidt had a version with more verses). All the others, however, have just the right number of verses to be performed verse and verse about, counting each organ verse as a substitute for a text verse. I offer schemes for them (and for *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland*) in Table 2.2, page 74.

The *bicinia* are either *cantus-firmus* settings, in which case they count as a verse, or are free, in which case they do not. Sometimes, as can be seen, the whole ends with an organ verse, sometimes a choir verse. Whether the choir verses were accompanied is an open question. It seemed more logical to start with the organ, to let the *Choralricercar* act as a prelude that will give the voices their note. However, the *Magnificat* settings always start with the voices, and Mahrenholz gives the first verse of each Latin hymn at the beginning of each setting in his edition. Whether he implies by so doing that the performances started with a *choraliter* performance of

Table 2.2

Distribution between voices and organ in *alternatim* performance of the Latin Hymns from Scheidt's *Tabulatura Nova III*.

<i>Vita sanctorum</i> , 6 verses of text:										
	V.1	V.2	V.3			V.4	V.5	V.6		
<i>Choralricercar</i>	Vx	Org	Vx	Org (<i>Bicinium</i>)		Vx	Org	Vx		
<i>Christe qui lux es et dies</i> , 7 verses of text:										
	V.1		V.2	V.3	V.4	V.5	V.6	V.7		
<i>Choralric.</i>	Vx	Org (<i>Bic</i>)	Vx	Org	Vx	Org	Vx	Org		
<i>A solis ortu cardine</i> , 8 verses of text:										
	V.1	V.2		V.3	V.4	V.5	V.6	V.7	V.8	
<i>Choralric.</i>	Vx	Org (<i>Bic</i>)	Vx	Org	Vx	Org	Vx	Org		
<i>Veni redemptor</i> , 8 verses of text:										
	V.1	V.2	V.3	V.4	V.5	V.6	V.7	V.8		
<i>Choralric.</i>	Vx	Org	Vx	Org	Vx	Org	Vx	Org		
<i>Jesus Christus Unser Heiland</i> , 10 verses of text:										
	V.1		V.2	V.3	V.4	V.5	V.6	V.7	V.8	V.9 V.10
<i>Choralric.</i>	Vx	Org (<i>Bic</i>)	Vx	Org	Vx	Org	Vx	Org	Vx	Org Vx

the first verse I do not know. If yes, then my scheme would still work, each text verse being shifted one place to the left, leaving in some cases a final verse on the organ that does not represent the substitution of a verse of text, but rather a final fantasia. It must be conceded that the final verses of most of these Latin cycles are more ‘fantasy-like’ than the previous verses, in that the *cantus firmus* in them is presented either in augmentation in unvarying semibreves, or is presented with long gaps between the chorale lines. Thus they are rather more free fantasies on the melody than settings of the *cantus firmus*. So while the earlier ‘organ’ verses could indeed (as I argue elsewhere with respect to the German hymns) have been sung, these final verses (and indeed all the verses of the two Latin cycles that will not fit into my scheme) are not so amenable to this treatment. Of course, it was always

possible to sing two choral verses one after the other if the scheme will not quite fit, or even to play two organ verses together, or simply not to perform certain organ verses. Perhaps Mahrenholz was just being helpful in writing the melody and first verse words above the pieces and meant nothing by it. Vogel's edition does not show the hymn text, so I presume it was not in the original.⁷⁷

The smaller number of German hymn cycles is distributed through parts one and two of the publication, (though, as stated, *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland* is an exception, being in part three because it is a part of the Ordinary, and the setting of *Christe, qui lux es et dies* in Part two is in practice a German hymn setting [*Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht*]). They differ from the *Magnificat* and Latin hymn cycles in that, first, the first movement of the German cycles is not a *Choralricercar* but a *cantus-firmus* setting with extended *Vorimitation* of the first chorale line; second, in three of them the first two or three verses (or more) are written to be played continuously, even though distinct and labelled as *Versus 1, 2, 3*, etc. (*Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr; Christ lag in Todesbanden; Christe, qui lux es et dies*). Otherwise they are similar to the Latin cycles, with one movement usually a *bicinium*, this always here being a *cantus-firmus* movement. That some variations are joined together suggests, however, that *alternatim* performance is not intended.

The German hymn settings would presumably have been used for the *Hauptgottesdienst*. Their function would seem to be the accompaniment of German hymns that the choir would have sung by themselves. How could Scheidt's chorale preludes have functioned as accompaniments in this role? A more detailed examination of them reveals a remarkable consistency of construction, both in overall form and in detail.⁷⁸ The similarity of construction in overall form has

⁷⁷ The *Kirchenordnungen* are full of references to the organ playing a motet. The practice in Hamburg where, similarly to that in Halle, the choir was routinely absent, singing elsewhere in the city, meant that 'playing a motet', far from being a stopgap, became elevated into a high art, practiced more often than not. It is but a short step to 'playing a hymn', either a direct intabulation of a *figuraliter* setting or an imitation; when the necessity for so doing became routine, then a composer such as Scheidt, seeking to codify practice in his compilation, would be bound to write down the type of piece he would routinely have improvised. Done first for Vespers for the Proper Latin hymns, the custom would have been extended to the German hymns, and used presumably for the *Hauptgottesdienst*. Michael Belotti, *Peter Philips and Heinrich Scheidemann or The art of Intabulation* in Hans Davidsson and Sverker Jullander, *Proceedings of the Göteborg International Organ Academy, 1994*, Göteborg 1994, p 75, and Kimberley Marshall, *From Motet to Intabulation*, in *ibid*, p 22, for the significance of the routine playing of motets in Hamburg.

⁷⁸ Mahrenholz has done a thorough analysis of these movements. [Mahrenholz, Preface to *Tabulatura Nova*, p 108, and pp 126 foll.]. The one irregularity in overall structure, that some of the German

already been noted. The detailed treatment of the *cantus firmus* is also consistent. In all the settings it is always (there is one exception) undecorated, always in singing rhythm, is split up into its constituent lines but with the gaps between the lines equal in length. Moreover it is always in a somewhat simplified rhythm; sometimes in simple long notes, all equal, other times in the iso-metric style with a long first and final note to each line, the other notes of equal length. It would have been easy enough to sing the *cantus firmus* as the piece was being played; it is always at an appropriate pitch for singing, in the right rhythm, with the appropriate gaps for breathing, always capable of being played on a solo stop using the new organ that Scheidt had had built in the *Moritzkirche* in 1625 with its solo pedal stops.

Admittedly it would have been necessary to sing the melodies quite slowly by our standards, but it seems likely that they were sung slowly, and Scheidt almost never presents the melody in augmentation in his *cantus-firmus* settings of hymn tunes,⁷⁹ even if he does in his fantasies. Certainly a choir would have had no difficulty in singing the *cantus firmus*. Notable is the fact that the first movements of the settings of the German hymns, all of which are *cantus-firmus* settings rather than *Choralricercaren*, nevertheless start with a fugal introduction that ushers in the *cantus firmus*, whereas the other verses start with the *cantus firmus* right from the beginning. My view is that Scheidt's pieces functioned as accompaniments for the choir singing in unison.

As an example of how an 'organ' setting might have worked as an accompaniment, let us examine the setting of *Christe qui lux es et dies*. The chorale, in its German version as *Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht*, as found in various hymn books, has seven verses, while Scheidt's setting has nine. Verse one in Scheidt's setting has the tune in the *discantus* introduced in G minor after a fugal exposition on the first line. This verse could either have been the introductory prelude, or else have

hymns settings have the first few variations arranged to be played continuously, is something that Mahrenholz makes a great deal of, suggesting that such pieces were intended as set pieces, the others for *alternatim* performance. Only if the *alternatim* verses were sung *choraliter* would this be significant, in that they could not be inserted between these variations. But might it not be the formula that Gesius intended, that the first verse was an introduction, the second to be sung by a solo voice, the third by the choir? It seems most unlikely that one would write a cyclical work for performance as a purely instrumental unbroken entity; a chorale fantasia would be much more appropriate.

⁷⁹ The exception is *Christ lag in Todesbanden*, where there is quite a lot of alternation between a version with gathering notes in semibreves, the general movement in minims, and a version completely in semibreves. But even the most augmented version would nevertheless still have been easy to sing.

been used as an accompaniment to a boy or boys singing the tune ‘*in die Orgel*’.⁸⁰ Assuming the former, the second verse of the organ version, which is enchained to the first, presenting the tune in G minor in the cantus with initial notes lengthened, but otherwise as in verse one, could have accompanied the choir singing verse one of the text. The third organ verse, likewise enchained, again presents the tune in the cantus, and could have accompanied verse two of the text. Scheidt’s organ verse four, also enchained, has the melody in the tenor, and could have accompanied verse three of the text. Scheidt’s organ verse five, also enchained, has the melody in the alto, in D minor; this would have been either an organ-only verse, or have been sung to the words of verse four by the altos. Scheidt’s verse six is the first one not enchained (all the following also stand free), and so there could have been inserted between it and verse 5 a *choraliter* verse. Assuming not, then Scheidt’s organ verse six would have accompanied verse five of the words (G minor, *choral in cantu*). Scheidt’s organ verse seven is a *bicinium*, but one that involves a statement of the *cantus firmus* in two parts, ‘*duplicis contrapuncti*’ [in invertible counterpoint], with the soprano statement answered by a tenor statement throughout. This could easily have been sung by the boys and the tenors (or even congregation), but assuming this verse was an organ-only verse, then Scheidt’s organ verse eight would have accompanied the last verse of the text, verse seven, with the chorale in the tenor all in long notes (the first rhythmic alteration to the tune in the set). In that case Scheidt’s final verse, with the melody in the bass, would have functioned as a concluding fantasia; nevertheless, it would have been possible to sing this too, as similar movements in *Cantiones Sacrae* show, though either the tenors would have had to sing a line, answered by the basses, or else there would have been large gaps between the sung lines. It seems to me more likely that the *bicinium* would have been sung and the final verse played as a concluding fantasy. Scheidt often ends the settings of the German hymns with a highly-decorated *cantus-firmus* movement (*Gelobet seist du, Warum betrübst du dich, Vater unser*) which it would have been impossible to sing. This last instrumental verse was a generally common feature; the *Aepinische Kirchenordnung* mentions that the organist should play a final fantasia ‘*na*

⁸⁰ Krüger 1933, p 116; ‘Das >>*in die Orgel singen*<< eines oder mehrerer Knaben war noch im 17. Jahrhundert eine mehrfach verwandte Choralausführung.’ [The practice of having one or several boys singing ‘*in die Orgel*’ was a much used way of introducing a chorale even in the 17th Century.]

gelegenheit der tidt' (if there's time). Perhaps we should bear in mind, though, that such a performance as outlined here must have been for a special occasion. There are not enough examples of organ chorales in any composer's oeuvre to provide for everyday use, though far too many for them to be purely didactic. Bearing in mind that Scheidt usually had to play in the *Moritzkirche* on feast days without the *Kantorei*, one can see such a performance as being something special, where the complications of the performance demanded that at least Cantor and organist knew exactly what was going to happen in advance. On ferial occasions, no doubt, something similar though less complicated was extemporised.

Support for the general idea that 'organ chorales' might have been sung to is provided by Steigleider's express instruction that the *cantus firmus* in his gargantuan forty-fold variations on *Vater unser im Himmelreich* can, besides being reinforced by other instruments, also be sung.⁸¹ More direct and convincing affirmation of the idea comes from a detailed comparison of the choral version of Scheidt's *Christe der du bist Tag und Licht* with the organ version; the choral version sets the same melody, using the German words (which are a direct translation of the Latin). The table below compares the two versions, though a verse-by verse comparison is not intended:

Table 2.3

A comparison between the organ and Scheidt's choral settings of *Christe, qui lux es et dies*

<i>Tabulatura Nova II, VII, Christe qui lux es et dies</i>	<i>Cantiones Sacrae, No. XLIX Christe der du bist Tag und Licht</i>
<p>Verse 1, a4 <i>cantus-firmus</i> setting with <i>Choral in Cantu</i>. G minor</p> <p>Verse 2, joined to verse 1. a4, <i>Choral in Cantu</i>, G minor. Use of <i>canzona-alla-francese</i> figures, though these derived melodically from the chorale</p>	<p>Verse 1, extended <i>Choralricercar</i>, treating each line of the chorale in turn, but with much repetition and, after the initial points, mostly homophonic, making much use of the antiphonal possibilities of the double choir. G minor</p> <p>Verse 2 is an a4 <i>cantus firmus</i> setting,</p>

⁸¹ Blume 1965, p 166. Blume cites Pachelbel's *Musikalische SterbensGedanken* (the chorale partitas) as a '*späte Gegenstück*' to this work, a slightly eccentric view, compounded by his (incorrect) asseveration that these pieces are lost. While finding the idea of singing or playing the *cantus firmus* in these variations on another instrument most odd, as far as most of the rest of Pachelbel's chorale preludes are concerned it seems only too likely.

<p>Verse 3, joined to verse 2. <i>a4</i>, <i>Choral in Cantu</i>, many <i>canzona-alla-francese</i> figures.</p> <p>Verse 4, joined to verse 3. <i>a4</i>, in <i>Tenore</i>, many <i>canzona-alla-francese</i> figures. Imitation by inversion.</p> <p>Verse 5, joined to verse 4. <i>a4</i>, in <i>Alto</i>, D minor.</p> <p>Verse 6, <i>a3 Voc.</i>, in <i>Cantu</i></p> <p>Verse 7. <i>Bicinium duplicis contrapuncti</i>, starting with the upper part.</p> <p>Verse 8, <i>a3 Voc.</i>, in <i>Tenore</i>. Chorale in long notes, differing rhythmic figuration throughout; many parallel thirds and tenths.</p> <p>Verse 9, <i>a4 Voc.</i>, in <i>Basso</i>, but actually the tenor pre-imitates the <i>cantus firmus</i> exactly and completely.</p>	<p>with the tune in semibreves throughout, the supporting parts being less derivative from the chorale than in the organ version, utilising instead <i>canzona-alla-francese</i> figures.</p> <p>Verse 3 is similar to verse 2 but with the <i>cantus firmus</i> in the tenor, with one-bar breaks between the lines.</p> <p>Verse 4 is <i>a2</i>, SA, <i>duplicis contrapuncti</i>, S starting. Invertible counterpoint at the 5th throughout.</p> <p>Verse 5 is <i>a4</i>, the <i>cantus firmus</i> is in the bass, starting on low G, one-bar breaks between the lines.</p> <p>Verse 6 is <i>a3</i>, SAA, A2 singing the <i>cantus firmus</i>, but with no breaks between the lines; S and A1 are in canon.</p> <p>Verse 7 is a grand homophonic setting in 3 time, with a 2-time coda</p>
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The choral setting is more contrapuntally rigorous, but we find this rigour too in Scheidt's organ settings of the Latin hymns.

The choral version of *Vater unser im Himmelreich* is in almost exactly the same form as the choral version of *Christe der du bist Tag und Licht*; the *duplicis contrapuncti* movement, *a4*, is moved to Verse 8; Verse 4 is the Bass *cantus-firmus* setting; Verse 5 the canon; Verse 6 another *a3* canon, Verse 7 an alto *cantus-firmus* setting, Verse 9 the final homophonic setting.

The layout of this choral version of *Vater unser* can also be seen to be very similar to the organ setting of the same chorale, as the table below on page 80 shows.

Table 2.4

A comparison between Scheidt's organ and choral settings of *Vater unser im Himmelreich*

<i>Cantio Sacra 'Vater unser im Himmelreich', Tabulatura Nova I, III</i>	<i>Cantiones Sacrae No. XXXII Vater unser im Himmelreich</i>
Verse 1, <i>Cantus-firmus</i> setting a4, <i>Coral in Cantu</i>	Verse 1, 8-part <i>Choralricercar</i> , but much of it in a homophonic polychoral style.
Verse 2, <i>Coral in Tenore, a 4 Voc.</i> Imitation by inversion, many <i>canzona alla francese</i> figures	Verse 2, a4, <i>cantus firmus</i> in cantus, uniform long notes, half-bar breaks between the chorale lines
Verse 3, <i>Coral in Cantu, a 3 Voc.</i> Parallel thirds and sixths, complementary figures.	Verse 3, reworking of verse 2 of the organ version.
Verse 4, <i>Bicinium contra puncto duplici adornatum</i> . Upper part starts, counterpoint following is fifth higher.	Verse 4, a4 setting with <i>cantus firmus</i> in bass, very low.
Verse 5, <i>Coral in Tenore, a3 Voc.</i> <i>Imitatio Violistica</i> passages	Verse 5, a3 (TTB) with <i>cantus firmus</i> in bass, tenors in canon at one minim beat at the unison.
Verse 6, <i>Coral in Bass a3</i>	Verse 6, a3 (SAA) with <i>cantus firmus</i> in A2, S and A1 in canon at fifth below.
Verse 7, <i>Coral in Basso a3 Cantus firmus</i> in long notes, making this a long variation with varied violinistic figuration	Verse 7, a4 (SAAB), <i>cantus firmus</i> in A1
Verse 8, <i>Coral in Basso colorato a3</i> A rare example of a decorated <i>cantus firmus</i> in the style of Jacob Praetorius	Verse 8, a4 (SAAB), <i>cantus firmus</i> in S accompanied by A1, this echoed line by line by A2 and B
Verse 9, <i>Coral in Cantu colorato a4</i> Many varied figurations and again the instruction <i>Imitatio violistica</i>	Verse 9, a8 homophonic setting in 3 time with coda in 2-time.

Objections that the *cantus firmus* as written in the organ versions would have been too slow to sing cannot be sustained, since they appear in exactly the same form in Hassler's and Scheidt's choral settings.⁸² Burney's experience in Bremen⁸³

⁸² To adduce evidence from the later eighteenth century about this may seem a bit far-fetched, but as Harald Herresthal has pointed out, there was an unbroken performance tradition of the congregational chorales from Scheidt's time to the nineteenth century. He cites the evidence of the scene from

reinforces the point, and the opinion of Calvin that the hymns, psalms and the like needed to be sung slowly to be ‘learnt and inwardly digested’ was a commonplace. Elaborate accompaniments that were in use in the later eighteenth century, documented in various tutors,⁸⁴ show that the chorales must then have been sung slowly.

Objections that the *cantus firmus* lies too low to be sung in Scheidt’s organ settings are also refuted by his and Hassler’s choral settings, which not infrequently call on the basses to sing a low D. My view is that Scheidt’s and Hassler’s choral settings that set only the first verse, the majority, were chorale motets, successors of Walter’s settings, and functioned as such; they were performed either at the beginning of the service, or either side of the sermon, when the *Kantorei* was present. In the absence of that body they could have been performed by the organ, and Scheidt’s initial *Choralricercaren*, such as he wrote for his *Magnificat* settings and Latin hymns, examples of this sort of intabulation, could also have been used. If the rest of the chorale were also to be sung, then Scheidt would have improvised accompaniments for the choir, either *Kantorei* or schoolchildren, who would have sung in unison; these accompaniments would have been in the style of the later verses in the *Tabulatura Nova* settings. The choral settings we have been examining, where all the verses were set, must have been used liturgically in exactly the same way, but were perhaps written for very special occasions, when Scheidt knew that the *Kantorei* would be present.⁸⁵ Perhaps the fact that the two choral settings that set all the verses exist in organ versions too reinforces the idea that performance practice

Mozart’s *Die Zauberflöte*, Act 2, Scene 8, ‘Two men in armour’, in which scene the two men sing the chorale *Ach Gott von Himmel sieh darein* in octaves at what seems to us an interminably slow pace, and also at a very low pitch for the bass, but that nevertheless this might well have been the speed at which Mozart would have expected the chorale to be sung; the whole number is of course a sublime organ chorale. Harald Herresthal, Aspects of Liturgical Organ Playing and the interrelationship between Chorales and Concert Music in the Nineteenth Century in Göteborg 1994, pp 285-291.

⁸³ Burney, *Dr. Burney’s Musical Tours in Europe, Volume II An Eighteenth-Century Musical Tour in Central Europe and the Netherlands*, London, 1775, 1959 edition, p 222.

⁸⁴ Johann Christian Leberrecht Kittel, *Der angehende praktische Organist*, Erfurt, 1801 (reprint, with introduction, Buren, 1981), for example.

⁸⁵ Bearing in mind Schering’s asseveration that it was unlikely that the polyphonic music of the Renaissance was ever unaccompanied (reference to Schering, *Die Niederlandische Orgelmesse*, Leipzig, 1912, in G. Pietzsch, Orgelbauer, Organisten und Orgelspiel in Deutschland bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts, in *Die Musikforschung* IX (1958), p 160), and the corollary to that, that the most likely accompanying instrument was the organ, was it likely to have been much different in 1620? One can imagine that Scheidt’s larger settings in *Cantiones Sacrae*, even when sung by the full *Kantorei*, might well have been accompanied by the organ. What the organ played would then have differed little from an ‘organ’ setting of a chorale. See also footnote 19 on page 52.

was flexible. The identity of style between choral and organ settings meant that the same type of piece could be presented whatever choral forces were present, or even when there were none at all.

What is the step from the use of one of Scheidt's settings as the accompaniment for a choir performance of a chorale to its use for a congregational performance? It seems to me that the stumbling block in Rietschel's argument sprang from his preconception as to what a congregational accompaniment was like. Beside the quotation cited above where he talks about 'using this simple, homophonic, not figural form of accompaniment [.....] the organ became the accompanying instrument for the congregation', he also gives away his preconception when, considering the leap from the *choraliter* performances of 1600 to the regular organ accompaniment of 1637 he says;

Whoever looks at the way congregational singing is accompanied on the organ today, whoever considers that our view of the pre-eminence of congregational singing in music making in the church is the norm...⁸⁶

Rietschel, even though he himself is advancing the idea that the organ accompaniment of congregational singing came from the tradition of figural music, cannot rid himself of the modern preconception as to what an organ accompaniment is like, even when denying that it was not like this in the beginning. In this he is as blinkered as any English-speaking musician, where the tradition of accompaniment of the hymns has always been of the simplest. In Germany, however, such was not the case. Adlung,⁸⁷ standing in the same tradition, gives us a vivid account of how complicated the accompaniment of the congregational chorales was, describing not only in his account how to play a prelude, but also how to decorate what remains a very simple harmonic scheme while accompanying. Kittel, in *Der angehende praktische Organist*,⁸⁸ writes out possible versions that would normally have been performed extempore. While these examples do indeed come from a century or so after Scheidt, my view is that the tradition must have been continuous. Kittel, one of

⁸⁶ Rietschel 1892, p 46: 'Wer etwa die jetzige Form unseres Gemeindegesangs mit seiner Orgelbegleitung ins Auge fasst, wer unsere heutige Anschauung zum Massstabe macht,...'

⁸⁷ Jacob Adlung, *Anleitung zu der Musikalischen Gelahrtheit*, Erfurt, 1758.

⁸⁸ Kittel, 1801.

Bach's last pupils, was carrying on a tradition inherited from the master who himself passed on antique traditions. It seems to me not impossible that the treatment of chorale accompaniment was much the same in Scheidt's time as Kittel describes it. Harald Herresthal points out that 'chorale accompaniment in the church service was an art of musical and artistic importance [of which] until the second half of the nineteenth century there was a long and rich unwritten tradition..', and that 'good organists have been varying the chorale accompaniments [.....] since [the time of] Scheidt.'⁸⁹

The time of the Thirty Years War saw the supply of young men to sing in choirs dry up. The *Kantoreigesellschaften*, whose special province the singing of the chorale motets was, had also disappeared. Even for luxurious establishments like that of M. Praetorius (the court at Wolfenbüttel) times were hard. Scheidt, who even in good times was not assured of the attendance of a choir, and must always have been flexible in his approach to the 'choir' performance of the chorales, must have relied more and more on solo organ performance or performance with a choir of very small numbers. It seems only too likely that Rietschel is right in his intuition that, in the absence of the well trained choirs that they had been used to, the congregations joined in the figural performances of the chorales. What had been used as organ accompaniment for choir performances became the accompaniment for the congregational singing. The accompaniments that Staden played must have been simplified versions (though still far from simple note-against-note harmonisations) of the type of setting we see in *Tabulatura Nova*. Harald Herresthal again: 'Many of the chorale variations and partitas from the Baroque Period may be examples of hymn accompaniment on a high level and not just *alternatim* verses'.⁹⁰

To sum up I quote from Rietschel:

In this development it was not the congregational singing that was preserved and elevated, the organ being admitted to a partnership as the accompanist of a self-sufficient enduring tradition..... but rather did the congregation join itself to the figural art music and the organ accompaniment that went with it. This art music had been created by those church-music composers, who, having a genuine concern for the congregation, wrote their music in such a way that the congregation could

⁸⁹ Herresthal in Göteborg 1994, pp 285, 286, 291.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, p 291.

sing along with it. The congregational singing at first lost its self-sufficiency and could only fit its singing of the chorale melody into the choir and organ performances of the chorales. This however became precisely the way in which its self-sufficiency was restored to it, and how the organ became its servant, a servant that by accompanying it provided a firm basis and support for it.⁹¹

So writes Rietschel at the beginning of his argument, without then going on to show precisely how that came about. I hope that I have shown in some detail how the jump from *choraliter* to accompanied congregation singing might have taken place.

Scheidt published no more organ music after *Tabulatura Nova* until the *Görlitzer Tabulaturbuch* of 1650. Opinions have differed as to whether these simple settings of the most commonly used chorale tunes for organ (though they are not quite as simple as the settings found in the *Kantionalen*) are organ chorales or hymn accompaniments for the relatively new practice of accompanying congregational hymns. Blume is of the opinion that they are primarily didactic, showing an organist how he should accompany those hymns that he would already have known. Is not the collection too well organised and comprehensive for them simply to be explanatory examples?⁹²

These short settings could certainly work either as accompaniment, prelude or *alternatim* variation. What is notable is that production of *Kantionalen* tailed off very

⁹¹ Rietschel 1892, p 47. “Nicht wird der Gemeindegesang in der folgenden Entwicklung dadurch erhalten und gehoben, dass ihm in seiner bisher noch verbliebenen Selbständigkeit die Orgel als Begleiterin beigelegt wird, sodass er im Unterschiede und in scharfer Trennung vom Kunstgesange gehoben wird, sondern der Kunstgesang und zugleich das mit denselben verbundene Orgelspiel wird von den Komponisten der Kirchenmusik, welche mit der Freude an ihrer Kunst zugleich ein warmes Herz für die Gemeinde und einen gesunden evangelisch-kirchlichen Sinn verbinden, also gestaltet, dass die Gemeinde sich an denselben anlehnen, mit in denselben einstimmen kann. Der Gemeindegesang verliert zunächst sein Selbständigkeit und kann nur mit dem *cantus firmus*, mit der Melodie, in den Chorgesang und das Orgelspiel sich einfügen. Das wird aber gerade der Weg, um ihn wieder zur Selbständigkeit zu erheben und ihm in der Orgel sodann die Dienerin zu geben, die ihm durch die Begleitung einen festen Halt und Stützpunkt bietet.”

Lilliencron had the same idea. As already cited, he describes an order of service for Liegnitz Castle for 1625, writing: “It is only logical that Osiander saw these his hymn settings as being *Figuralmusik*. The choir remains the chief element; the congregation is merely incorporated it and is thereby elevated into the circle of the *figural* music.” Lilliencron 1893, p 94. This way of phrasing it is rather more *de haut en bas* than Rietschel’s formulation, but the idea is the same.

⁹² Blume 1965, p 163, where he cites Vetter’s *Musikalische Kirch- und Haus-Ergötzlichkeit* (1709/13) as being of the same nature.

considerably after Melchior Franck's *Psalmodia Sacra* (1631).⁹³ While *Kantionalen* continued to be reprinted, and some new ones imitated the Schein type, more often the hymn books were printed either with a single-line melody, or with the tune and figured bass.⁹⁴ That this very rich seam should have dried up so suddenly must have had some cause; some change of practice must have rendered the *Kantional* redundant. At this time too the *Choralbuch* must have appeared, a collection from which the organist, now accompanying the congregation, would have played, of which the *Görlitzer Tabulaturbuch* is perhaps a very refined example (though the *Orgeltabulaturen* had always contained simple four-part settings of chorales without verbal texts that must have had similar purposes, whatever those might have been). Was the *Kantional* replaced by the *Choralbuch*? This idea is supported by the fact that Johann Hermann Schein's 1627 *Kantional* has a figured bass accompaniment for the harmonisations contained in it for the first time in a *Kantional*. Whether these figured-bass settings were intended for congregational accompaniment is of course not proved by their inclusion. The organ had accompanied the figural singing since Luther's day, and the *Kantional* harmonisations were doubtless accompanied too. The appearance of a figured bass in Schein's book was rather a sign that figured bass had become common in general as a technique of indicating harmony, and that playing from it was becoming a necessary skill for organists. Certainly, though, within a few years of the appearance of Schein's book, accompanying the

⁹³ In the hey day of *Kantionalen* production original publications appeared in 1586 [Osiander], 1588 (x2, inc Raselius), 1589 (x3), 1593 (Michael), 1594 (Gesius), 1596, 1597 (Eccard and Calvisius and Lobwasser's Psalms), 1598 (Eislebener and Calvisius), 1599, 1601 (Gesisus), 1602 (Franck), 1603 [Psalms], 1603, 1604 (x5, inc Vulpius and the Hamburg book), 1605 (x5, inc Gesius, Calvisius, Siegfried, Lobwasser's Psalms), 1606 (x2), 1607 (x3, inc Jeep), 1608 (x6, inc Erythraeus and Hassler), 1609 (x5, inc M. Praetorius), 1611, 1612 (x3), 1614, 1615 (x3), 1616 (Zeuner), 1617 (x2), 1618 (x2), 1619 (x2), 1621, 1622, 1627 (x3, inc. Schein), 1628 (Schütz), 1629, 1631 (Franck). *Kantionalen* later appeared from time to time, most commonly Lobwasser's Psalms in their 'original' four-part settings in 1636, 1639, 1646, 1647, 1651, 1653, 1654, 1659, 1660, 1666, 1669, 1670, 1676, 1684, 1688, 1689, (x2), 1690, while older *Kantionalen* were reprinted, most notably Hassler's by Staden in 1637. Genuine new *Kantionalen* and reprints of older publications appeared in 1639, 1640 [Schütz rep], 1641 [*ad Organum accommodato*], 1649, 1650, 1656 (x2), 1657, 1658 [Crüger], 1661 [Schütz rep], 1662, 1663 [Crüger rep], 1666 & 1667 [Gerhardt], 1668 [Crüger rep], 1668 [Slüter], 1672, 1681, 1682 [Vopelius], 1690 [Crüger]. The publication rate of the later period, however, does not compare with the flood at the turn of the century. As the newer style of hymns appeared the favoured format was not the four- or five-part note-against-note settings. [Details from RISM, DKL]

⁹⁴ Liliencron gives 1627 as the year of the first appearance of a melody-only edition of a hymn book, which he says were presumably intended for congregational use. He says also that such editions appeared everywhere; RISM gives no indication of any such editions for that year, though this might be explained by the fact that they were melody-only editions of already existing hymn books. Liliencron 1892, pp 98-99.

congregation on the organ had become widespread, and his figured-bass version would have been very useful. Scheidt's *Görlitzer Tabulaturbuch* could be seen as the equivalent of Schein's book without the clutter of words, arranged so that the voice parts could be clearly seen (Schein's book would have appeared only as part books and as a figured-bass version), but the settings in it were more complex than a figured-bass setting.

That Scheidt's settings are more complicated than Schein's is perhaps another illustration of the conflict between usefulness and artistic ambition; even for the accompaniment of a chorale tune Scheidt seeks to do justice to figural art. Since no 'choral' version of the book exists presumably the accompaniment was intended for unison singing, the choir singing from a *Kantional* for a harmonised version. But this does raise the question as to what the choir sang from when they sang in parts. When *Kantionalen* were current there was always a four- (or five-) part version to fall back on. When *Kantionalen* fell from favour there remained only the two-part version found printed in the hymn books from later in the century. Did choirs then sing only in two parts? Certainly not always, for there are reports from much later even of congregations singing in four parts.⁹⁵ Yet even today there is in Germany no hymn book laid out for four-part choir.

Another factor that this efflorescence of the *Choralbücher* brings into play is the onward march of the transformation of the chorale tunes into their iso-metric form. The versions of the accompaniments in Scheidt's *Görlitzer Tabulaturbuch* may indeed be more complicated than those in Schein's *Kantional*, but the melodies themselves are not; they are either equally simple or simpler. Blume sees the hymnals from Crüger's earliest to Briegel's *Darmstädter Kantional* of 1687 as characterised by the completion of this process of simplification; he further sees this as a symptom of the Enlightenment-Rationalist spirit at work, yet again as a statement by the orthodox against the emotional excesses of the pietists, or even as evidence of the neglect of the traditional melodies in favour of the more up-to-date tunes. Whether he is justified in all these suppositions (are they not perhaps to a

⁹⁵ Williams (Williams 1984) writes of the congregation in St. John's Church, Lüneberg, singing in four parts. It seems that the women and men sat separately; in St. Thomas' and St. Nicholas' Churches in Leipzig, for instance, in the first half of the 18th century the men sat in the balconies, the women on the ground floor. (Kevorkian 2002, p 28)

certain extent contradictory?),⁹⁶ there is no doubt that the simple iso-metric form found in the 1704 *Weimarer Tabulatur Buch* became the universal form at about this time. Very telling is the fact that it is this form that is used in those organ chorale settings where the melody is unadorned, as had been the case for almost a century. While in such a context the melody can be seen as a *cantus firmus* and thus a certain expectation of simplification is aroused (as is so from the time of the earliest examples of *cantus-firmus* settings of any kind), might not the use of the tunes in the simplified version in organ settings have contributed to these versions being seen as the ‘fundamental version’ of the tunes?

2.6 Summary

I finish this chapter with a summary of possible ways of performing the chorales from the time of Luther to that of Pachelbel.

Wittenberg 1533

- Congregational hymn (gradual hymn, *Wir glauben*):
organ prelude; congregation sings *choraliter* supported by the choir, unaccompanied throughout the hymn.
- Seasonal festival hymn (sequence):
organ prelude; congregation sings verse of German version of the hymn, choir verse of Latin version, these in *alternatim* for rest of hymn; unaccompanied throughout.
- Choir-only performance of Latin/Greek part of Ordinary (*Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus, Agnus Dei*): Organ plays, choir sings, organ plays, and so forth in *alternatim*.
- Choir-only performance of German hymn or Ordinary paraphrase:

⁹⁶ Blume 1965, p 163.

(organ prelude); figural setting (Walter, etc) of first verse of hymn, accompanied in varying degrees; second verse of hymn sung in unison by choir, (?accompanied); third verse organ; fourth verse choir; and so on to the end.

- Latin hymn, *Te Deum, Magnificat*:

Verse 1 choir *choraliter* unaccompanied, organ verse 2, verse 3 choir; organ verse 4; and so on to the end.

Lossius 1553

- Congregational performance of German hymn:

organ prelude; [figural setting of verse 1 sung by choir]; congregation sings *choraliter* with choir, unaccompanied, for most of the hymn, or else in *alternatim* with the choir (but still *choraliter*); one or at most two verses (extra) interpolated by the organ; (organ plays at the end).

Osiander 1586

- Congregational performance of German hymn:

organ prelude; choir sings first verse of hymn to Osiander's *Kantional* setting (accompanied?); congregation sing rest of hymn *choraliter* with or in *alternatim* with choir, who may sing another verse to the *Kantional* setting; organ might play a verse; (organ plays at the end).

Gesius 1596

- Congregational performance of German hymn:

organ prelude: verse 1 sung by solo/small group from choir, organ accompanying with harmonies from the *Kantional*; verse 2 sung by choir in harmonisation from *Kantional*; verse 3 sung by congregation (and choir) *choraliter*; rest of hymn either

choraliter or in *alternatim* with choir; occasional organ verse; (organ plays at the end).

Eccard 1597, Hassler 1608

- Congregation performance of German hymn:
organ prelude: verse 1 sung by choir to harmonisation in *Kantional*; rest of hymn *choraliter* together with or in *alternatim* with choir; occasional organ verse; (organ plays at the end).

- Choir-only performance of German hymn:
(organ prelude); choir sings first verse of hymn to figural setting (accompanied?) or to Eccard's *Kantional* setting; if other verses sung, then choir sings in unison in *alternatim* with the organ, choir verses possibly accompanied extempore; or else a fully choral setting is used, when choir sings each verse to figural setting (accompanied?)

Scheidt 1620

- *Magnificat*:
voices sing opening of verse 1; organ *Choralricercar* as second half of verse 1; voices and organ in turn the two halves of verse 2; voices and organ in turn verse 3; and so on until the organ finishes with the second half of the *Gloria* (labelled as Verse 6).

- Latin hymns; see Table 2.2 on page 74.
- Congregational performance of German hymn: (organ prelude); [verse 1 in figural setting (*Cantiones sacrae*) if *Kantorei* present, otherwise accompanied unison verse from choir after prelude]; congregation *choraliter* together with or in

alternatim with choir; one organ verse in the style of Scheidt's *bicinia*; (organ plays at the end).

- Choir only performance of German hymn:
organ prelude and figural setting of first verse (*Cantiones sacrae*), or unison performance with organ accompaniment, or an organ-only *Choralricercar* or *cantus-firmus* setting; choir sings rest of hymn in unison, but accompanied throughout; organ verse a *bicinium*; (organ plays at the end).
- A fully choral performance possible, as in the two *Cantiones sacrae* settings: (organ prelude); first verse a figural setting; following verses all figural choral settings; final verse homophonic setting.

Staden 1637

- Congregational performance of German hymn:
organ prelude; choir sing verse 1 to Hassler's *Kantional* harmonisation, accompanied; rest of hymn sung *choraliter* but accompanied most of the time; occasional organ verse, (organ plays at the end).

Pachelbel 1690

- Congregational performance of German hymn;
organ prelude (chorale fughetta); first verse sung either by choir or congregation to figural organ accompaniment; rest of hymn sung *choraliter* but accompanied throughout; organ verse?; (organ plays at the end).

Despite the array of possibilities revealed by a study of the *Kirchenordnungen* and by the *Kantionalen* and Hassler's and Scheidt's music, the above schemes remain mostly conjectural. Doubtless actual practice varied considerably in one place from

day to day, depending of the degree of festivity and the availability and readiness of the musical forces; practice also varied from place to place according to inherited usage and personal preferences of clergy and musicians. I hope that I have shown, amidst the variety and possibility, that what we see as the organ chorale was an integral part of the performance practice of the chorales in their liturgical setting. It remains now to examine the liturgical context of Pachelbel's organ chorales.

Chapter 3

The Nürnberg Orders of Service; the liturgical context for Pachelbel's organ chorales.

While details of liturgical practice in Erfurt in Pachelbel's time are scant, we are fortunate in having a thorough account of many aspects of the church services in Nürnberg. Max Herold's book *Alt-Nürnberg in seinen Gottesdiensten*¹ has almost become a primary source, even though it is a late-nineteenth-century collation of sources from the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. With the help of this source the place of organ music in its liturgical context in Nürnberg in the seventeenth century can be examined in detail. Because Pachelbel was the organist at that time, because so much organ music was improvised, and because much of the written-down music that was used was usually written by the current holder of the office, it is natural to view the insights gained from this source into how the organ fits into the service as applying specifically to Pachelbel's music.

The *Gottesdienstordnung* for the *Lorenzkirche* in Nürnberg, as presented in detail by Herold in his book, shows a considerable role for the organ. Below is a parallel presentation of this order of service with what is a composite version of the 1664 and 1697 orders of service for the Nürnberg *Sebalduskirche*, which Herold presents in the same publication.

¹ Herold *Alt-Nürnberg in seinen Gottesdiensten. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Sitte und des Kultus*, Gütersloh, 1890.

Table 3.1

Gottesdienstordnungen in Nürnberg, late 17th century

[Herold 1890, pp 162-4

Herold 1890, pp 125-9]

<u>Lorenzkirche</u>	<u>Sebalduskirche</u>
Prelude on the organ	
Versicle <i>de tempore</i>	
The organ modulates (<i>moduliert</i>)	
Choir sings the Introit	The Introit or Introduction, as prescribed for the particular Sunday, is sung by the choir from the lectern. Latin from the <i>Choralbuch</i>
The organ plays <i>Kyrie eleison</i>	<i>Missa: Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison,</i>
The organ plays <i>Christe eleison</i>	<i>Kyrie eleison</i> , sung by the choir
The organ plays <i>Kyrie eleison</i>	
The priest intones: <i>Gloria in excelsis</i>	The celebrant (<i>Wöchner/Primus</i>) begins to intone: <i>Gloria in excelsis Deo</i>
The organist modulates	The choir responds: <i>Et in terra pax</i>
The choir sings the words: <i>Gratias agimus tibi – Jesu Christe unigenite</i>	<i>hominibus voluntatis. Laudamus Te,</i>
The organist modulates further	<i>benedicamus Te, glorificamus Te. Etc.</i>
The choir sings: <i>Quoniam tu solus – Jesu Christe</i>	to the end
	The priest sings antiphonally with the people: The Lord be with us all. Response: Amen
The priest sings the Collect	The celebrant sings the Collect of absolution. Response: Amen
Reading of the Epistle	The assisting priest (<i>Diaconus</i>) reads from the chancel steps in front of the lectern the appointed Epistle
The organ is played	

Choir: <i>Hallelujah</i> or Tract or Sequence	A Tract or <i>Hallelujah</i> or Sequence follows, chosen according to the season, or, if the congregation is capable of it, a German hymn is sung: From the 1 st to the 4 th Sunday in Advent: <i>Mein Sünd mich werden kränken sehr</i> . From Christmas to Candlemass: <i>Danksagen wir alle Gott</i> . From then until Lent: <i>Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herze</i> . Passiontide: <i>O hilf, Christe, Gottes Sohn</i> . Easter till Trinity: <i>Weil du vom Tod erstanden bist, werd ich im Grab nicht bleiben</i> . From then until the end of the church's year: <i>Schaffe in mir</i> once more
Reading of the Gospel	The second assisting priest reads from the lectern in front of the altar a chapter from the Gospels. He then turns the lectern round and finds the place of the exhortation. He returns to his seat, remaining there until the Creed is finished, when he will read the exhortation
The priest stands at the altar precinct and intones: <i>Credo in unum deum</i>	The celebrant intones: <i>Credo in unum Deum</i>
The choir sings the whole Creed right through	The choir answers: <i>Patrem omnipotentem, factorum etc.</i> to the end
	Sometimes, if/when the congregation is capable of it, the German Creed, <i>Wir glauben all an einen Gott</i> (or the 1754 German Apostles' Creed) is sung
Exhortation to take communion 'Dearly beloved brethren, the Scripture moveth us in sundry places...'	The second assisting priest reads the exhortation
Words of institution	The celebrant begins: In the same night that our Lord Jesu Christ etc, the while taking the bread
The organ plays	
The choir sings <i>Sanctus</i> The organ plays Choir: <i>Pleni sunt coeli et terra gloria tua</i>	The choir sings: <i>Sanctus, Sanctus etc.</i> , including the <i>Benedictus</i>

<p>The organ plays Choir: <i>Benedictus, qui venit in nomine Domini</i></p> <p>Lord's prayer, sung by the priest Choir: Amen</p> <p>Priest: The peace of the Lord be with you all Choir: Amen</p> <p>The organ modulates Choir: <i>Agnus dei, qui etc.</i> The organ modulates <i>Agnus Dei etc. da nobis pacem</i></p> <p>The organist preludes on the tune of the hymn (introduces the German hymn) The choir responds with (accompanies – <i>fügt bei</i>) the hymn, and in this manner it is sung to the end</p> <p>After communion there follows the Collect of thanksgiving</p> <p>Both priests at the altar sing: Let us bless the Lord Thanks be to God</p> <p>Blessing</p>	<p>The celebrant sings the Lord's Prayer Response: Amen</p> <p>The celebrant, as a sign that the congregations should come forward to receive communion, sings: The peace of the Lord be with you all Response: Amen</p> <p>During the administration of the communion German hymns are sung</p> <p>The celebrant sings: The Lord be with you all Amen</p> <p>The celebrant or first assistant sings: the Collect Amen</p> <p>The three priest sing together: Let us bless the Lord, (<i>Hallelujah</i>) Response; We give thanks to the Lord, (<i>Hallelujah</i>)</p> <p>The blessing (four versions possible)</p>
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While no order of service seems ever to give just those details that we would like to know, these two give us a clear idea of how a service might have proceeded at the time Pachelbel was the organist the *Sebalduskirche*. The presumption is that the details about the use of the organ in the *Lorenzkirche* order would have applied also

to the *Sebalduskirche*, but were considered either not sufficiently important or so obvious as not to need to be written down.

Two things strike us immediately. The first is the extent of the use of Latin. The Ordinary is completely in Latin (or Greek for the *Kyrie*) in the *Sebalduskirche* service, with no text omitted through *alternatim* performance; there is no *Agnus Dei* stipulated; perhaps it, or the German equivalent, could have been sung during the administration of communion. In the *Lorenzkirche* service the Ordinary was performed *alternatim* between choir and organ, with words left out where there was no repetition built in to the text (*Gloria* and *Sanctus*). The Introit motet and the Blessing were also in Latin. This emphasis on Latin was, however, a local peculiarity. Blume has pointed out that Leipzig and Nürnberg were unusual, though not unique, in their continued use of the language so late, while in many areas in southern Germany it had been abandoned completely by 1600. There are no Latin hymns in either Nbg1690 or the *Weimarer Tabulatur Buch*, and presumably these had gone out of use by 1700, except for the *Magnificat*. Liliencron cites the use of Latin in Nürnberg, and the generally conservative approach of the Nürnberg churches to liturgy, as a result of their adherence to the 1533 Brandenburg-Nürnberg *Kirchenordnung*. Pointing out that one of the reasons for the thoroughness with which Latin was introduced or maintained in the church schools in the early Reformation was the perceived need that the singing boys should know the language so that they could perform the Latin liturgy, Liliencron goes further in suggesting that the loss of Latin meant the erosion of the *de tempore* elements of the service, and was a serious impairment to its coherence, which coherence he sees as one of the glories of the ancient church built up in the pristine youthfulness of the religion.²

Second, the congregational contribution to the singing was both minimal and discretionary. The responses could have been sung by the choir; the Gradual hymn, *Wir glauben* and German hymns at communion were possibilities for the congregation in the *Sebalduskirche*, while the communion hymn was the only hymn mentioned in the *Lorenzkirche* order, and this was sung by the choir. If in the

² Liliencron 1893, p 31. Liliencron draws a continuum between the extremes of the Brandenburg-Nürnberg *Kirchenordnung* of 1533, the most conservative, and the Prussian of 1525, which he sees as at the other extreme of rooting out the old in favour of reform (even if it soon back-tracked on some of the more extreme measures); he puts the Bugenhagen *Kirchenordnung* in the middle of this continuum.

Sebalduskirche there were German hymns, they did not replace any of the Latin or Greek choir items, and were sung only 'if the congregation is capable of it'. This could have described what took place at Wittenberg nearly two centuries previously.

It must be conceded, however, that, as with Luther's orders, there was probably a lot of flexibility. Perhaps these orders describe what happened on feast days, and normally there would have been, *pace* Luther's intentions, wholesale substitution of German hymns for various parts of the Ordinary, and of the Gradual complex. No mention is made of figural music around the sermon; indeed, the sermon itself is not mentioned in either order; maybe here more German hymns were sung. Herold makes it clear in his commentary on the *Sebalduskirche* order that German words were substituted for many of the Latin parts of the service, particularly the *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, and *Agnus Dei*, this quite apart from the use of German hymns to take their place entirely. He also mentions parts of the service that did not appear in the orders that were commonly used.³ It must be clear from the sheer output of hymn books in Nürnberg that German hymns were often sung.

The role of the organ is important. It seems that the organ provided a more-or-less continuous 'modulatory'⁴ presence: starting the proceedings to give the choir their note; accompanying the choir in its Introit motet; modulating between pieces to establish the new key; functioning *alternatim* with the choir when this sang figural settings of the Ordinary; playing preludes to the German hymns; giving the note to the priests for their altar chant. Looking in more detail at what the organ actually played, we are of course trespassing on to the ground of speculation. This is what is most unclear, yet would most clearly explain the purpose and use of the organ chorales and the other organ music. So we venture into this territory, but always tying our speculations to the written music or the printed orders of service. Let us consider the various parts of the service in turn, making observations as we go.

³ Herold 1890, p 131 foll..

⁴ It is not clear what '*moduliert*' means; probably it does not mean to modulate in a technical musical sense, but rather to smooth over the gaps between items in the service. There is a clear distinction in the *Lorenzkirche* order between '*moduliert*' and '*spielt*' [plays]; but this distinction does not match exactly the idea that when the organ 'plays' it is playing something integral to the liturgy, but when 'modulating' it is just filling in. Perhaps light is thrown on the matter by Printz's use of the word; he says of it: '...a singer would compose his melodies himself, which is what the word '*modulieren*' would mean to many; ...' In other words, does it simply mean to extemporise? (Printz, *Musica modulatoria vocalis*, 1678, quoted in Butt 1994, p 143)



Plate 7 Wood-cut illustration from Nbg1690, showing the three pastors in St. Sebaldus' Church exactly as described in Herold 1890, and the poem, one of which is attached to each wood cut. (Glasgow University Library, Special Collections)

Introit

That the service opened with a prelude on the organ causes no surprise. We have seen this stipulated in the *Kirchenordnungen*. The opening organ prelude is a commonplace in the Anglo-Saxon world, though its place in the Lutheran church is different; usually, even today, it is seen as part of the service and is not played until the congregation is assembled, and the priest has entered.⁵ Pachelbel's free organ pieces are mostly short, the longest, the Prelude in D minor (Belotti, Wayne Leupold edition, Volume 1, p1), lasting a mere four minutes; some last just a dozen or so bars. Many of the longer preludes and toccatas emphasise the tonality with long pedal points, and rarely modulate into keys more distant than the dominant and relative major/minor. Such a prelude would have been ideal to introduce a service, to fulfil the hidden but essential function of giving the choir or priest the note for what is to follow (and to allow the other instruments to tune if they were to play in the introit). A toccata such as the one in C major (Belotti, Volume 1, p 10) would have set the mood (solemn, but energetic rather than dull), would have established the key unambiguously, could have been extended extempore or by doubling back and repeating the middle section, but would not have lasted too long. Should a longer piece have been required, or were the service of a more solemn nature, Pachelbel could have improvised, and was famous for improvising, on whichever hymn was to be used. Most appropriate here would be a *cantus-firmus* setting, with the melody clearly audible in the bass or cantus. But it must always be borne in mind that this type of playing was at base improvisatory; whatever reason these composers may have had for writing down either free or chorale-based pieces, the art of composing them was founded on the ability to improvise such pieces. Almost certainly, year in, year out, the majority of the music heard would have been improvised, certainly according to formulae the imprint of which can be seen on the written-out versions, but in practice different each time.

⁵ Rietschel 1892, p 29-30: *Erstlich, dass der Organist bei Zeiten anfang, zu Ende des letzten Läutens, alsbald eine ziemliche Gemeinde versammelt ist.* [First, the organist should begin just at that time, after the ending of the bell-ringing, when a reasonably sized congregation is assembled.] Straßburg *Kirchenordnung*, 1598. Williams (Williams 1984, pp 8-9) discusses the issue of when and what the organist would have played at the beginning of the service.

The Versicle followed; the prelude had given the priest the note; maybe the organ accompanied the response extempore, though no composer has ever written down a worked-out version. Herold gives the example used at the beginning of Vespers to show how such a versicle would work; at Vespers the boys sing ‘*Deus, in adiutorium meum intende!*’ The choir answers: ‘*Domine, ad adjuvandum me festina! Gloria Patri* etc.’. A similar exposition with reference to the Feast of St. John the Baptist cites the same versicle, but adds the detail that the choir always answers *figuraliter*.⁶ Indeed, the 1625 order of service for use in the Liegnitz Castle Church, cited by Liliencron, is quite specific that all the responsorial material was sung in four parts.⁷ Whatever introductory *de tempore* versicle might have been used at the beginning of the Mass would presumably have been rendered in a similar manner. After the response the organ ‘modulated’, manoeuvred the music into the key for the Introit. The very short preludes in Pachelbel’s oeuvre give an idea of the type of piece that might have been played here, though the written-out versions have the drawback of finishing in the same key in which they started, so may have had to have been adapted.

The Introit followed. As the *Sebalduskirche* order says, this would normally have been a Latin figural motet by an established composer, in the Renaissance polyphonic style. Roman Catholic composers were well represented in the collections used, were perhaps even in a majority. Perhaps the organ or other instruments would have accompanied this motet. The *Kirchenordnungen* make it clear that a psalm verse (or two) plus the *Gloria Patri*, framed by an appropriate seasonal plainsong antiphon, could have been sung here instead of the polyphonic motet. Some of the antiphons were extremely long; they were sung before the plainsong Psalm verse(s) and *Gloria Patri*, then again after, all in German, usually in some antiphonal arrangement between the boys and the choir as a whole. Yet another alternative was a motet played on the organ, or a German hymn could have been sung by choir and congregation. The term ‘a motet on the organ’ means various things; earlier in the century there is no doubt that a motet intabulation would have

⁶ Herold, 1890, p 122, and p 227.

⁷ Liliencron 1893, p 121. Liliencron adds in brackets ‘*vierstimmig mit Noten*’; perhaps this implies a mensural version rather than a harmonised chant; certainly the designation *figuraliter* seems to imply a fully worked-out setting.

been played; we have a number of written-down examples by Strunck and Scheidemann, as already noted. Organists of any calibre would have been able to 'extemporise' an intabulation. Indeed, as late as Weckmann's appointment to the post at the *Jacobikirche* in Hamburg (1655) it was a specific requirement for the audition that candidates had to '*aus den Bass tractieren*' a six-part motet by H. Praetorius (i. e. play it from the figured bass) and then go on to extemporise on it.⁸ So the organist played a suitably decorated version of what he would have played had he actually accompanied the choir. Whether later, since a German hymn could have been substituted for a choral motet, he might have played an organ chorale instead, seems likely;⁹ while the earlier *Kirchenordnungen* would seem to preclude a sung chorale motet at this point, they nevertheless all allow for a German hymn, so it seems likely that the 'motet played on the organ' became in later times an organ chorale. Already noted is Schering's claim that Walter's 1524 settings of the chorales were performed with the other parts than the *cantus firmus* played on the organ. It is but a short step to playing the whole piece on the organ, the result being an organ chorale in all but name. Any *cantus-firmus* setting by Pachelbel would have been remarkably similar in character to such a piece, and would have been eminently suitable for use at this point.

Kyrie eleison

After the motet the organ modulated again to the key for the *Kyrie*. Which *Kyrie* was used would have depended on how festal the service was. Where Latin was still widely used the various versions from the Missal were used, the *Kyrie Dominicale* for ordinary Sundays, with the chant sung *choraliter*. For feast days a polyphonic setting would have been used, probably a *cantus-firmus* Mass setting using the Introit

⁸ Brian Bailey, *The Motet Intabulations of Heinrich Scheidemann with an analysis of 'Verbum Caro Factum Est'*, Indiana, 2000, p 10.

⁹ The Liegnitz order says; '*Hier wird ein geistl. Gesang oder MOTETA auff dem Werck geschlagen*', to which Liliencron adds '*Also die Orgel spielt entweder eine Strophe eines deutschen Kirchenliedes oder eine Motette*'. [Here a sacred song on a motet is played on the organ. That means a verse of a German hymn or a motet.] So sixty-five years before Pachelbel's time an intabulated motet could be improvised, or a (presumably similarly improvised) verse of a hymn could be played. This last would resemble most closely an organ chorale even if not called by that name, or written down. Liliencron 1893, p 121.

as its basis, or a parody Mass on the appropriate Introit Motet.¹⁰ While the orders for both churches suggest that the *Kyrie* would have been in Greek, Herold says¹¹ that if the service were sung in German the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* would have been in German too. There were many chant-like German versions of *Kyrie* and *Gloria* available. The simplest would have been one by Luther,¹² a simple three-fold chanting of the words, either in Greek or German. Longer versions included melismatic three-fold and nine-fold versions which adhered to the original Greek text or its German translation. Troped versions, where each invocation was extended verbally into hymn-like proportions, were available for special festivals, and indeed there were three hymns, *Kyrie Gott Vater in Ewigkeit; Christe, aller Welt Trost; Kyrie, Gott, Heiliger Geist*, that were based loosely on the plainsong melodies, but were metrical German hymns. Naturally the repetitive nature of the text lent itself admirably to *alternatim* treatment, and the *Lorenzkirche* order shows this in use. Here it is clear that the organ was played solo, followed by the chant; whether it was always six-fold like this must be doubted; clearly there were many options. The problem arises; what did the organ play? Did it accompany the sung portions?

Since Pachelbel has left us no simple *alternatim* setting of the *Kyrie*,¹³ it is difficult to be sure how this *alternatim* performance would have been managed. Both Hieronymus Praetorius and Scheidt have left detailed settings that are clearly intended for the type of *alternatim* performance we are discussing. Praetorius' versions (for there are many, using the various chants) have the organist start and play the *Kyrie* twice with the chant sung between; the *Christe* was sung and then played, then the *Kyrie* sung, played and sung to finish with. It seems clear that the chant was unaccompanied. Praetorius' settings are *cantus-firmus* settings, often with

¹⁰ Liliencron 1893, p 41. The main tenor of Liliencron's argument in this book concerns the Proper and how it was realised in the Lutheran Church until about 1700, at which point its use fell into confusion. The use of an appropriate Mass setting (i. e. one based on the plainsong Proper) was one on the most significant ways that the observance of the Proper calendar was maintained. Liliencron cites the order of services for the year for the Liegnitzer *Hofkirche* (1625) in which the Mass setting for the first Sunday in Advent is Jacob Handl's *Missa super Jerusalem gaude*, a parody of the same composer's motet of the same name, itself based on the plainsong which was Proper for the third Sunday in Advent. Liliencron 1893, p 121.

¹¹ Herold 1890, p 131.

¹² *Handbuch der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenmusik*, Göttingen, 1941. *Das Ordinarium*, No.1, p 3.

¹³ The settings of the *Kyrie* that Pachelbel has left us are polyphonic settings intended for choir-only performance, accompanied by strings.

the chant in the pedals, utilising the chant exactly for each section. Scheidt, twenty years later, gives just three *Choralricercar* movements based on the sections of the three-fold chant he uses. The chants, the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* of *Kyrie Dominciale IV. Toni*, are given above the organ music in both Mahrenholz' and Vogel's editions of *Tabulatura Nova III*, and this version is the basis of Scheidt's setting. Were sections of this chant sung unaccompanied after each organ movement, or did the organ pieces replace the choral version completely? In the absence of a written-down version from the Pachelbel's time by a south German composer it seems reasonable to presume that either an earlier version such as Scheidt's would have been used, or that a similar version would have been improvised. Pachelbel has certainly left us settings of the *Kyrie*, such as that from his *Missa Brevis* in D.¹⁴ Such settings, from which all *alternatim* elements have disappeared, were presumably used on special occasions, when a string orchestra would have been present; but Williams, citing Spitta, thinks that 'the old choir/organ *alternatim* method of performing (e. g.) the *Te deum* at Mattins [so assuredly also the *Kyrie*] certainly remained in force in the bigger town churches such as the Leipzig *Nikolaikirche* [until Bach's day]'.¹⁵

Gloria, Collect and Epistle

The priest intoned the *Gloria*, either in Latin or in German. There seems to have been no organ interlude here; one is reminded of Luther's experience with the lutenist,¹⁶ when he had to accept the note he was given at the end of the *Kyrie*. If Latin was used the whole *Gloria* was sung *alternatim*. The *Lorenzkirche* order is exactly specific as to how the *alternatim* was to be divided, with the text of the organ sections not being rendered. Again H. Praetorius and Scheidt have left us examples. Praetorius' version splits the piece up into more sections than the *Lorenzkirche* order, but the idea is the same, though the chant portions in Praetorius' version are unaccompanied. Scheidt's version is long, and sets all the sections. Some sections,

¹⁴ Recorded on CHE 0050-2, this piece is certainly 'brevis', though this refers to the fact that only the *Kyrie* and the *Gloria* were set, rather than that the piece is short.

¹⁵ Williams 1984, p 11.

¹⁶ Rietschel 1892, p 12. It seems that in a small church where Luther had to sing Mass the 'sung' parts of the service were substituted for by the Sexton playing the lute. After hearing the *Kyrie* played, during which he found it hard to contain his laughter, Luther was obliged to work out his note for the *Gloria* without its being given to him.

starting with the *et in terra pax*, are in *Choralricercar* style; the alternate sections are in *cantus-firmus* settings, with the plainsong possibly played on a solo stop except in the final homophonic section. Mahrenholz, in his edition, adds words to the plainsong melody. Whether he implies by doing this that these portions were sung is not clear. Certainly it would be a very long section of music with no singing if they were not sung. A coherent performance plan would be to have the organ play the *Choralricercar* sections alone, the choir to join in the others. This would not go against the rubric in the order. If the service were in German, then, Herold maintains, the whole piece could have been sung throughout in chant¹⁷ to a German translation. There were various elaborate intonations for various festivals, and sundry versions of the whole piece, each no doubt no less suitable than the Latin originals for dismemberment for *alternatim* treatment according the rubrics of the *Lorenzkirche* order. We have already seen how, in the 1542 Schleswig-Holstein *Kirchenordnung*,¹⁸ the *alternatim* treatment was interrupted by the singing of *Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr*; Herold says that this hymn could replace the *Gloria*, usually after the initial intonation and first response. Might not the unduly large number of settings of this chorale point to their use as the organ contributions in the *alternatim* performances?¹⁹

The pastor could presumably have obtained his note for the intoning of the Collect and the Epistle from the preceding *Gloria*, or have chosen whichever note he liked. Certainly great care was taken with the intoning of prayers and bible readings, there being stipulated ways of introducing the material and inflecting the monotone. In the days before electronic amplification this was essential for audibility in large buildings. Whether in Nürnberg these prayers and readings were actually read, as it says in the orders, or intoned, is not clear. Herold opts for the Collect's being sung, the scriptures read, as in the orders. However, Blume, talking of Luther's orders, speaks of the '*Verlesung der Epistel in einfachem Lektionston*' which perhaps does

¹⁷ *Handbuch*, *ibid*, No. 49, p 25, gives the '*Große Gloria*'.

¹⁸ Rietschel 1892, p 37

¹⁹ The whole service up to the *Allein Gott* would have been performed without any congregational participation. Some hymn books had special prayers printed which the congregation could have read to themselves during this time, or else there was a general recommendation that the congregation read in their prayer books. Blume points out that this was a drastic example of spiritual and social division, or rather a reaction to the fact of it, a reaction which brought a counter reaction in some places in the form of express prohibition of this practice. Blume 1965, p 158.

not suggest intonation.²⁰ The *Handbuch* gives fully notated versions of intonations for Epistle and Gospel, i. e. both the introduction and the passage itself (nos. 380, 383, 384, 385).²¹

Gradual

The heart of the service was the Gradual hymn. The *Sebalduskirche* order is very specific as to which hymns (specific to the times of the church's years, five in total) should be sung here on those occasions when a German hymn replaces the Tract, Sequence and Hallelujah, though Herold does amplify the list somewhat, suggesting verses out of German hymns that seem somewhat unknown.²² Nevertheless Schweitzer's asseveration that four or five hymns would cover the whole church's year seems borne out by these lists. It seems likely that a German hymn *was* usually sung here, and probable that rather more than just those appearing in the lists were used. How would these hymns have been performed? In the *Weimarer Tabulatur Buch* the versions of the chorale tunes are rhythmically the simplest possible, as we have seen, the harmonies being only a little more adventurous than Osiander's. Whether this style of accompaniment represents what Pachelbel himself used, or whether it is a further simplification of previous practice, is hard to say. Perhaps Pachelbel accompanied the chorales thus, but played or improvised rather more elaborate introductions, and maybe accompanied some verses more exuberantly.

While Pachelbel's chorale fugues (chorale fughettsas) would have made ideal pieces for interludes (i. e. interludes in the service, not interludes between the verses of a chorale), even for an introit organ motet, it seems that their main purpose was to act as introductions to the singing of a chorale. These pieces are short, simple fughettsas, almost always treating the first line of the chorale only, ending with a cadence in the key that the chorale was to be sung in. Sarber says that one of

²⁰ Blume 1965, p 35. *Handbuch, ibid*, at Nos. 412-413, pp 327, gives intoned versions of the salutations usual before the reading of the Epistle. [Reading of the Epistle in a simple 'reading-tone'.]

²¹ The Liegnitz order is quite specific that the priest sings the Epistle and Gospel. Liliencron 1893, p 122.

²² Herold 1890, p 132.

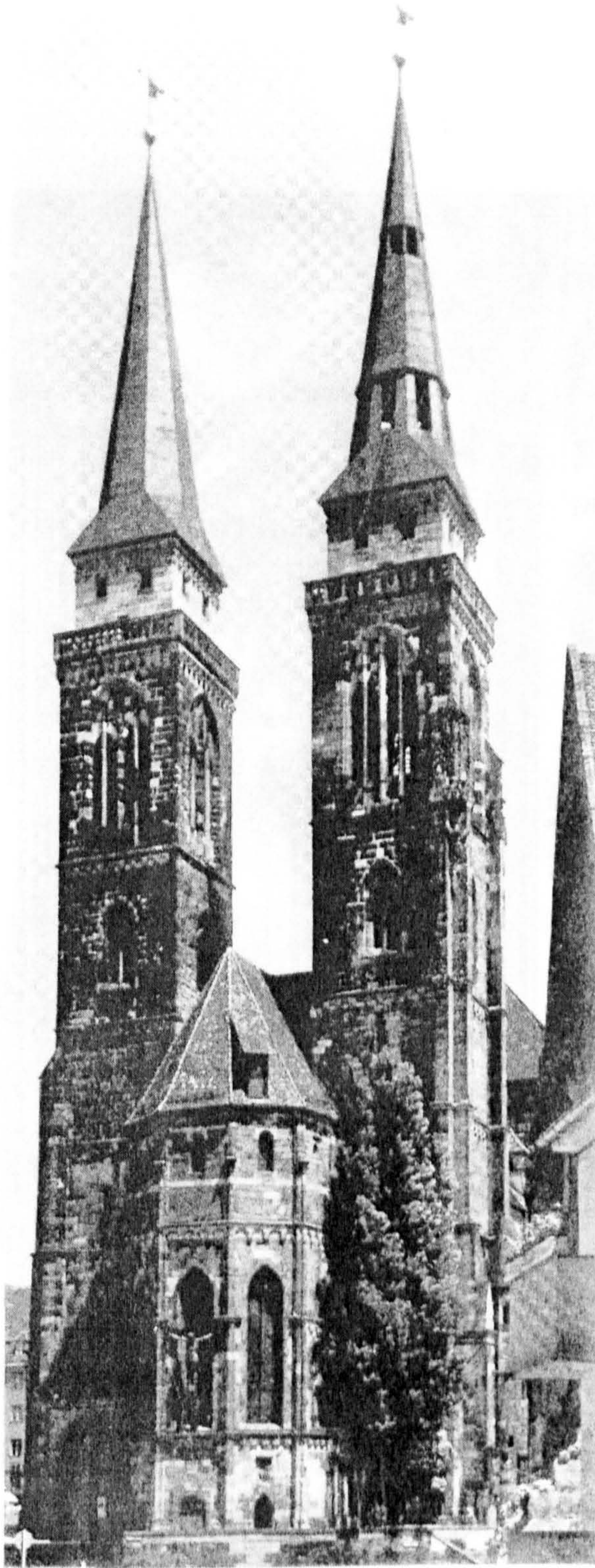


Plate 8 St. Sebaldus' Church in Nürnberg.
(C. H. Beck, München)

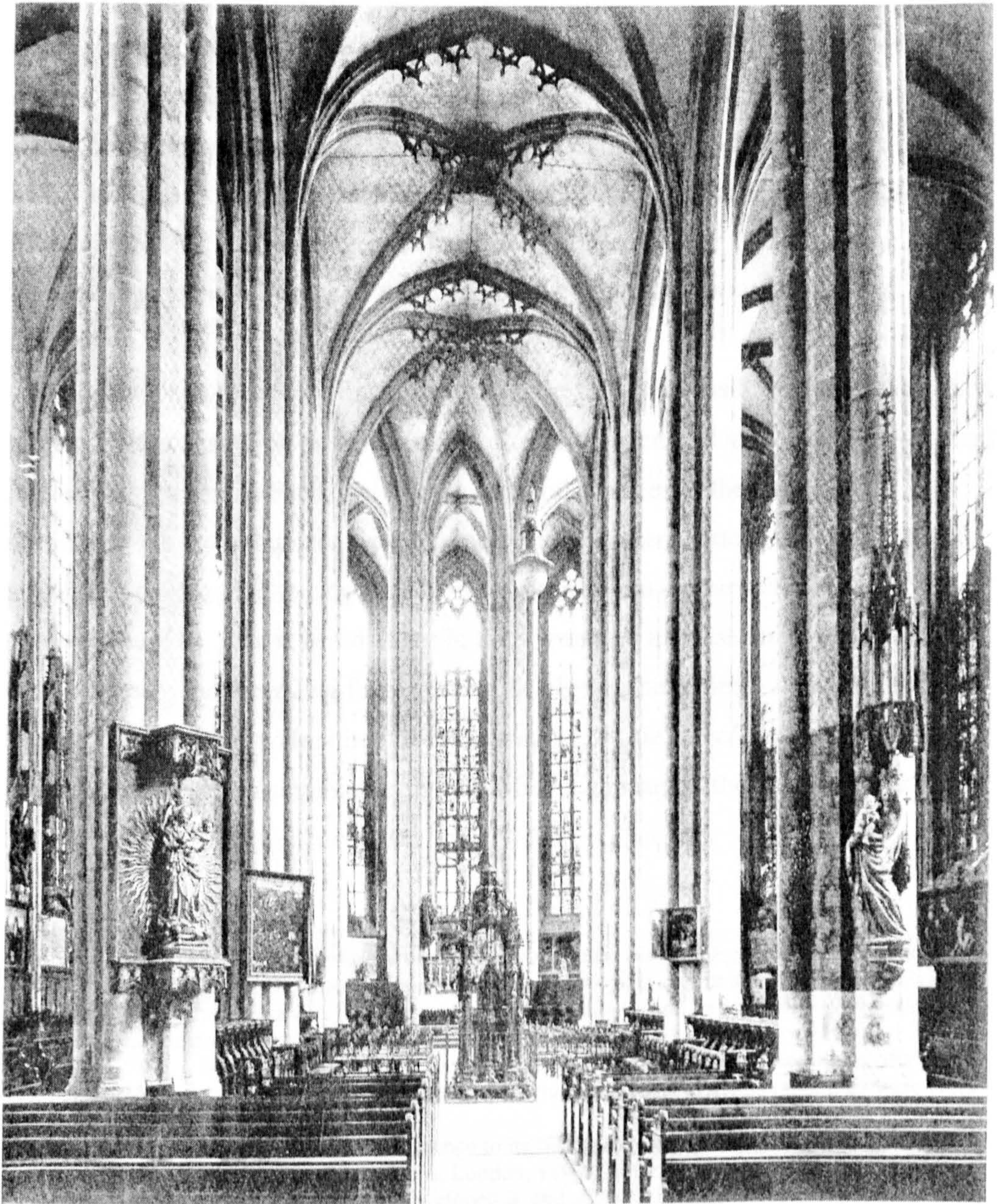


Plate 9 The interior of St. Sebaldus' Church, Nürnberg, looking towards the east end.
(C. H. Beck, München)

Pachelbel's duties at the *Predigerkirche* in Erfurt was to prelude the chorales thematically, these preludes to be carefully worked out before the service.²³ These pieces would have fulfilled this task admirably. Perhaps this is why we have so many organ chorale fuguetas by Pachelbel. For Mattheson this style of treatment was '*auf die Pachelbelsche Art*;²⁴ this being a style that was characteristic of the Erfurt-Eisenach region of Thuringia,²⁵ but one that had died out by Adlung's time (1780); he (Adlung) says that J. M. Bach's chorales (which were in Pachelbel's style) 'mean little today'.²⁶ Its later revival owed much to the reverence for Bach, its use in his works showing the influence of the Erfurt circle of composers rather than that of Buxtehude.

In Pachelbel's pieces the final entry of the first line that has been treated fugally is almost always at singing pitch, often in the tenor register, and in the same rhythm as the following chorale. Pachelbel also wrote similar pieces as the introductory sections of his 'combination' type chorale preludes, where instead of breaking off to allow the congregation to sing the piece, he introduces a *cantus-firmus* setting of the chorale where the tune is heard either in the soprano or the bass, in augmentation with respect to the preceding fugal section. Might not these pieces have also been used as introductions with either the choir singing '*in die Orgel*' (*pace* Gesius), or even the congregation singing the chorale when it appears as the *cantus firmus*? This

²³ Virginia Sarber, *The Organ Works of Pachelbel as related to selected Organ Works by Frescobaldi and the South and Central German Composers*, Indiana, 1983, p 25, where she cites Botstiber's interpretation of the significance of the instruction that Pachelbel 'shall be especially diligent in preparing thematic preludial music for the singing of the chorales [.....]'

²⁴ Williams 1984, p 24. Williams is making the assumption that Mattheson's descriptions of Walther's preludes using this phrase refers to their structure as well as to the fact that they were 'very neat and harmonious'.

²⁵ Spitta refers to this as 'the later [with reference to its Italian beginnings with Frescobaldi] school of Central Germany'. Philip Spitta, *Life of Bach*, London, 1899, Volume I, p 117. It was the Italian-influenced organists (Kerll, Muffat) who developed it, and after Pachelbel his circle of pupils (Buttstedt, Armsdorf, Vetter, Graff, Kauffmann, Kirchoff and Walther) that continued it. That J. S. Bach incorporated it into his works gave it a universality that it perhaps otherwise might not have achieved. Even so, there were voices raised against it at the time and later. Williams calls attention to: Kauffmann's recipe (1733) that the prelude should be 'something brief'; Voigt's condemnation of large fancy pieces, suggesting instead 'that he [the organist] plays over a whole or half verse [.....] with a solo stop'; Adlung, who criticises organists 'who improvised too long or who did not make the melody clear enough'. Williams 1984, p 22.

²⁶ Williams 1984, p 24.

last is what Apel thinks.²⁷ And while Pachelbel's combination-type organ chorales with the *cantus firmus* in the bass might be thought to be not quite as suitable an introduction to a chorale, would they not have functioned admirably as last verse accompaniments? Or else might they have been used *alternatim*? What organist has not had to extend a hymn by improvising before the last verse? Williams²⁸ cites Mizler's ridicule of the practice of improvising 'all kinds of grimaces for a quarter and even half an hour before the last verse which is sung through in a few minutes', but it is easy to see that the extended chorales, especially those combination-type pieces with the melody in the bass, would have been eminently suitable for such treatment. Or maybe these pieces functioned as final fantasies, or retiring voluntaries, such as we have seen in Scheidt's work. That Pachelbel, in these combination-type chorales with the *cantus firmus* in the bass, always doubles the pedal part by giving the *cantus firmus* also to the 'tenor', played by the left hand, making them more awkward to play than they otherwise would be (compare the two versions of *Christ lag in Todesbanden*, Pachelbel's original, and the bowdlerisation which appears in the Bach Gesellschaft Edition as BWV Anh. 171), must have some purpose; it does admittedly mean that the pieces can be played manuals only, but perhaps its true purpose is to reinforce the chorale melody at exactly the pitch at which it would be sung.

Our current tradition of accompanying hymns in a very plain way had certainly become a possibility by 1704, as the *Weimarer Tabulatur Buch* shows. Perhaps ungifted organists even then did accompany in a literal way. We might however bear in mind Kittel's realisations of chorale accompaniments, where the melody and bass are adhered to while the inner parts are rendered much more elaborately, rather as in Scheidt's *Görlitzer Tabulaturbuch*. This could have been done from the figured-bass

²⁷ Willi Apel, *The History of Keyboard Music to 1700*, Indiana, 1972, p 657. I call attention to the unusual passage in *Der Tag, der ist so freudenreich* (DTB 18), where, in bar 30, the upper of the three parts, having finished the first line of the chorale *cantus firmus*, has two extra notes, essential for the harmony, but not belonging to the tune. This seems to me to suggest that the tune would have been doubled by a melody instrument or voice that would have stopped playing or singing at the end of the chorale line, leaving the organ to continue with this 'extra' part without causing confusion.

²⁸ Williams 1984, p 28.

text of the *Weimarer Tabulaturbuch*. I give two examples of Kittel's settings.²⁹

These are not *Vorspiele*; Kittel gives separate examples of those, they not usually being *cantus-firmus* settings, though often introducing the first line of the hymn at the end at the right pitch for singing, just as Pachelbel does in his chorale fuguetas. Kittel's examples are chorale settings to be used to accompany the congregation. *Mir nach, spricht Christus* is much more like a Pachelbel chorale, the interline interludes being little fugal introductions that introduce each line of the chorale.

For more elaborate treatments we might refer to Adlung,³⁰ who talks about the various ways of accompanying hymns, sometimes to deprecate these ways, at other times to demonstrate how it should be done, showing that there was certainly a great variety of practice in 1767. As I stated in the Preface, it is only in modern times, and in English, that organ chorales are referred to exclusively as PRELUDES; in German they can be called *Vorspiele*, but only when they are functioning as preludes; otherwise they are called *Bearbeitungen*, meaning arrangements, and originally were called simply *Choral*, or just the title of the chorale, unless they were fantasias, which is something different. So to imagine that Adlung's descriptions (or Kittel's examples) of how to treat a chorale refers only to organ solo pieces (i. e. organ chorales as currently understood) and then to be brought up short and realise that he is referring to accompaniments, is salutary, a reflection of how we have come to view the organ chorale, and hymn accompaniment. This has doubtless been exacerbated by the fact that our most common experience of the organ chorale is through J. S. Bach's peerless examples; yet by Bach's time the organ chorale was beginning to lose its liturgical function. Bach's greatest collections, the *Klavierübung III* and the '18' [the Leipzig Chorales], though many of them doubtless started life as

²⁹ Kittel 1801. As has been said before, although this date seems very late, the tradition that Kittel enshrines here goes back to Bach, of whom he was a pupil; and Bach was, after all, famously old-fashioned. I think it fairly likely that Kittel's prescriptions on how to treat a chorale are valid for most of the eighteenth century. Pages 9-14 of Kittel's work give various possibilities as to how to play the chorale *Jesu, meine Freude*; notice the distinction between the prelude on it and the actual chorale, of which Kittel gives two versions, each of which leaves the melody and bass line completely unadorned, but fills in 'the figures' with flowing parts and inserts (to our ears) fussy little interludes between each line while nevertheless leaving exactly the right amount of space between them. A modern organist would call them organ chorales and be happy to play them as solo items.

³⁰ Jacob Adlung, *Anleitung zu der Musikalischen Gelahrtheit*, Erfurt, 1758, cited and quoted in Frederick Frank Jackisch, *Organ Building in Germany during the Baroque Era according to the treatises dating from Praetorius' 'Syntagma Musicum' (1619) to Adlung's 'Musica Mechanica Organoedi' (1768)*, Ph.D., Ohio State University, 1966.

Kittel's setting of Jesu , meine Freude



Example 3.1 Kittel's setting of *Jesu, meine Freude*, from Kittel, *Der angehende Organist*.

improvised elements of a service, had, by the time they reached their ultimate form, become as unsuitable for liturgical use as the *Art of Fugue* and the *Musical Offering*.

Adlung, in his *Anleitung*, recommends that, while it is a good thing not to play a given chorale in the same key every time it is sung, especially those chorales sung every Sunday, only certain keys should be used for accompanying congregational singing (because of temperament), and fancy harmonies should only be employed if the congregation sings in unison (suggesting strongly that often it didn't!).³¹ Further, he castigates organists for:

- putting the melody in the bass;

³¹ Adlung 1758, p 679 (Jackisch 1966, p 217). On this page also Adlung writes: '...] when a congregation is used to singing a bass line along with the melody, then it is bad when the organist and congregation are not in agreement.' Here is evidence, if a little late, that the layout of Nbg1690 was intended for congregational use.

- playing a *bicinium* with the melody in either top or bottom part but presenting it in diminution (having it move ‘too lustily’);
- ‘fidgeting’ with the feet (too vigorous a running bass?);
- coloration (decorating the melody that the congregation is trying to sing);
- breaking and chopping the chorale into unrecognisable patterns (leaving gaps of uncertain length between lines, filled with confusing interline interludes).

Kittel's setting of the chorale, *Mir nach, spricht Christus*



Example 3.2 Kittel's setting of *Mir nach, spricht Christus*, from Kittel, *Der angehende Organist*.

This all suggests that organists did far more than merely play an accompaniment such as appears in the *Weimarer Tabulatur Buch*. Now some of these practices outlined above are only what one would expect in an organ chorale intended as an organ solo, and it is obvious that their use in accompanying would be disturbing for the congregation. As Adlung says; ‘Are these proper means of keeping the congregation in order? Not only does the congregation lose its sense of devotion through such disturbance, but the organist certainly does not serve God thereby,

since he cannot place his mind properly on the text.’³² Yet such techniques must have been used, otherwise Adlung would not have felt moved to criticise them. We can see such treatment in the works of Pachelbel. Perhaps the presence or absence of such techniques would classify an organ chorale as suitable for accompaniment.

Adlung then advises on how best to accompany a chorale, ‘if you want variety’, offering the possibility of playing the chorale without variation (= decoration) in trio, with the right hand taking the melody, the left hand in the middle on another manual, the pedal playing the bass (or with the hands the other way round, the left hand playing the melody, the right hand “improvising”).³³ He also recommends playing the last verse very loudly, to alert the Pastor ‘that his entrance was required’.³⁴

It should be emphasised again that Adlung is not referring here to free-standing solo organ pieces, but to congregational accompaniment. And indeed, many of Pachelbel’s organ chorales could be called to mind by Adlung’s descriptions. Although Pachelbel only once places the melody in the tenor, (*Nun lob, mein’ Seel’ den Herren* [DTB 52]) and then gives it to the pedals, Adlung’s other descriptions could easily apply to the following chorale preludes: *Allein Gott in der Höh’ sei Ehr* (DTB 6), *Durch Adam’s Fall* (DTB 21), *Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ* (DTB 30), *Gott der Vater wohn’ uns bei* (DTB 31), *Ich ruf’ zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ* (DTB 37), *Ich hab’ mein’ Sach’ Gott heimgestellt* (DTB 36), *Jesus Christus unser Heiland, der den Tod* (DTB 40), and *Lob sei Gott in des Himmels Thron* (DTB 46). The chorale melody is equally clear, undecorated, at the right pitch for singing, and given appropriate gaps for breathing (without ‘breaking the chorale into unrecognisable patterns’) also in the *bicinia* *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der von uns* (DTB 42), *Durch Adams Fall* (DTB 20), and *Was mein Gott will* (DTB 61). All the other *cantus-firmus* settings that are not ‘combination’ types have the melody in the bass, something of which Adlung would disapprove; but while the tessitura of some is really too low to sing (though *pace* Scheidt’s *Cantiones Sacrae* settings, perhaps not), others could function as accompaniments, especially as, remarkably enough, the

³² Adlung, 1758, p 686 (Jackisch 1966, p 219).

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*, and Adlung, 1758, p 491. Williams amusingly calls attention to this practice; (Williams 1984, p 9). He cites the experience of J. M. Rubert at Stralsund who perhaps normally expected to improvise after the Creed while the pastor took his time to appear to deliver his sermon; on one occasion, the man being tardier than usual, Rubert extemporised on ‘*Der Herr wird bald kommen*’. [The Lord will soon be coming.]

bass line can always be played an octave higher without crossing the other parts, thereby placing it exactly at the pitch at which it would be sung by male voices.³⁵ The combination-type chorales with the melody in the bass would presumably have been played very loudly, thus fulfilling Adlung's dictum about last verses.

The strictures of Johann Ludwig, in *Den Unverschämten entehren der Orgeln*),³⁶ are as picturesque as Adlung's. Although written at the same time as Adlung's *Anleitung*, two of his objections are most certainly pertinent to Pachelbel's time. Those objections are the using of unnatural modulations and strange harmonies, and the overuse of inter-line interpolations. While Pachelbel never wrote any organ chorales displaying these characteristics, J. S. Bach certainly did, and, moreover, at a time when Pachelbel was still alive. We hear of the complaints of the Arnstadt consistory (Bach assumed his position there in 1702) reproving Bach 'for having hitherto made many curious *variationes* in the chorale, and mingled many strange tones in it, and for the fact that the Congregation has been confused by it.'³⁷ Whether this complaint concerns the playing of preludes to the chorales, or their accompaniment, is not clear; Wolff offers no convincing explanation as to why he thinks it refers to the former and not the latter. It seems logical to believe that the congregation would have been much more confused by a chorale accompaniment involving bizarre harmonisations and flamboyant and misleading inter-line interludes such as is found in BWV 715 and 722, than they would have been by a lengthy introduction.³⁸ Whatever the rights and wrongs of this case may have been, the style of accompaniment illustrated by BWV 715 and 722 must have been in regular use at this time, perhaps the result of the frustration of organists at having to accompany chorales in the style of the *Weimarer Tabulatur Buch*. Whether Pachelbel

³⁵ While it must be conceded that the chorales in Pachelbel's *Ellicher Choräle* are most certainly preludes (because he says so in the title), I have no doubt that playing an organ verse counted as 'preluding' on the chorale. Also, that the few examples in *Ellicher Choräle* are preludes does not prevent their having been used in other circumstances (as organ verses or accompaniments). Singing the chorale melody 'in die Orgel' for the first verse is also a form of prelude.

³⁶ Johann Ludwig, *Den unverschämten Entehren der Orgeln*, Erlangen, 1767 [*On the unashamed degradation of organs*], pp 9-12, cited in Jackisch 1966, p 221.

³⁷ Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach, The Learned Musician*, New York, 2001, p 85, quoted from *The New Bach Reader, A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents*, edited by Hans T. David and Christoph Wolff, London, 1998, p 46.

³⁸ Though perhaps, if the congregation could not read, did not have hymnbooks, and were relying on the prelude to recognise which hymn was about to be sung, then its members might well have been confused by a very elaborate introduction.

extemporised extravagant harmonies and played inter-line interludes is something over which there can only be speculation; but Bach's organ chorales show that this kind of thing happened at that time. And might not the small fugal expositions that come between the lines of the chorale in a setting like Pachelbel's *Durch Adams Fall* (DTB 21) be considered as inter-line interludes? They are much more tasteful and less intrusive than Bach's examples, but were maybe the forerunners of the later distasteful procedures decried by Burney (not to mention Bach's superiors). Our narrow view of how a hymn should be accompanied, supposedly deriving its pedigree from Osiander, is a modern phenomenon. That accompaniment of the chorale until the nineteenth century³⁹ displayed a much more variegated and flamboyant approach, perhaps stems in part from the eagerness of organists, their improvisatory skills ever to the fore, to evade strictures and disapprovals heaped on them from time to time.⁴⁰ There can be little doubt that Pachelbel, who was famous for his treatment of the chorale, utilised these skills in his accompaniment of the German hymns sung in Nürnberg.

What we do not find in Pachelbel's organ chorales are settings with a highly decorated *cantus firmus*.⁴¹ While this is perhaps because he worked in the south-German tradition, which tended to eschew such treatments, this is not the whole story. Scheidt wrote movements with a decorated *cantus firmus*, and also movements that obviously belong in the succession of verses, while not being *cantus-firmus* settings. These, it has been suggested, may well have been organ-only verses in an *alternatim* performance. Scheidemann and Weckmann did not, with one or two notable exceptions, write cycles in the way Scheidt did, but rather small 'collections' of verses, which usually included a preludial setting and one highly decorated setting, and perhaps one setting with an undecorated *cantus firmus*. Presumably these settings were used in the *alternatim* performances, with the other verse accompaniments, if any, being improvised. With Pachelbel we have only the fugal

³⁹ Herresthal 1994.

⁴⁰ Williams quotes E. Holmes. *A Ramble amongst the Musicians of Germany*, London, 1828, as further evidence for variety in hymn accompanying: '...yet as the same melody is often repeated in the service, the able variety of harmony displayed, with the impromptu moving basses or inner parts, make the skilful handling of these tunes a proof of a ready invention and profound knowledge.' Williams 1984, p 11.

⁴¹ There is one exception, *Wir glauben all' an einen Gott*. The reason for its existence is that the collection in which it was published aspired to be a compendium of the possibilities of the treatment of a chorale *cantus firmus*, and this type could not be left out.

prelude settings, and settings with an unadorned *cantus firmus*. Perhaps Pachelbel had no call for music to serve as an organ-only verse with highly decorated *cantus firmus*. This might be a further indication of the demise of congregation-versus-organ *alternatim*. Even so, the idea that Pachelbel might have played the occasional organ-only verse as an extra (i. e. not as a replacement for a sung verse) cannot be ruled out. Had he done so, then the types of organ chorale represented in the *Etlicher Choräle* would have served the purpose admirably.⁴² Perhaps also unaccompanied choir-and-organ *alternatim* was still used for the Ordinary, perhaps also for the *Magnificat* at Vespers.⁴³

That Pachelbel's contract with the *Predigerkirche* stipulated that he should 'accompany the hymns throughout' makes it a crucial document in the argument as to when this practice became universal. But even if, as Williams points out, such practice was, as late as 1693, considered to be 'customary amongst the most approved organists of today',⁴⁴ that the *Instruction* had, in Erfurt moreover, to spell this out, makes it clear that the practice was far from universal. Williams goes on to suggest that, despite the fact that this was 'the most recent custom', perhaps in those large churches with a strong choir the older practice of the hymns being first introduced by an organ prelude, [then] intoned by the cantor, and perhaps sung unaccompanied with inter-verse interludes from the organ, was still current, even into Bach's day.⁴⁵ Thus although we might think that the *alternatim* had disappeared from Pachelbel's world by the time he went to Erfurt, perhaps things were not so cut

⁴² Williams is chary of seeing the demise of *alternatim* performance as a definite development. He writes: 'it cannot be regarded as certain that *alternatim* performance became rarer for chorales while remaining customary for *Magnificat* and *Te Deum*.' He cites Blume in support of this. But perhaps Leipzig was an exceptionally musically well-endowed church with a conservative bent, and the disappearance of *alternatim*, a logical development, had gone on apace elsewhere. Williams 1984, p 27.

⁴³ Robin Leaver, *Vespers as a context for Music*, in Paul Walker, *Church, Stage and Studio*, Ann Arbor, 1990, pp 143-161. On page 154 Leaver says; 'by the end of the seventeenth century the tendency was to let the *alternatim* drop, and the [Vesper] hymn was sung by choir and congregation together.' *Alternatim* was 'longer lived' as far as performances of the *Magnificat* were concerned. Notice that even with Scheidt the *alternatim* is more obviously associated with the Latin Vespers repertoire. It is also pertinent that, while the *Magnificat* settings of all the composers until Weckmann were intended for *alternatim* performance, it is not obvious that Pachelbel's settings are similar in nature, despite efforts to see them this way. Maybe even the *Magnificat* was no longer sung *alternatim* by the time Pachelbel arrived in Nürnberg.

⁴⁴ Williams 1984, p 10. The *Instruction* of 1693 stipulates that the Erfurt organist's most important duty was 'to play the hymn by first preambing thematically and then playing with [the singing] throughout, as is customary amongst most approved organists today'.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p 10.

and dried. Even if Pachelbel himself did not have occasion to use his organ chorales as 'inter-verse' interludes, maybe others did.⁴⁶

Gospel, Creed, Sermon, Exhortation, Words of Institution, *Sanctus*

After the Gradual hymn came the Gospel, and then the Creed. The priest intoned *Credo in unum Deum*, the choir answered by singing the rest of the Creed right through. As well as the Latin version, which even in the Roman church, when it was sung, was not rendered *alternatim* but sung right through, there was a German chant-like version⁴⁷ for all the Creeds. Beside these there were German-hymn metrical versions, the most famous being Luther's *Wir glauben all an' einen Gott*, a three-verse hymn of late medieval provenance. It is on this hymn that Scheidt bases his organ chorale, with the *cantus firmus* alternately in the tenor, and in the bass in augmentation. How this was to have been performed raises interesting questions, but the tradition of ensuring that all the words were sung was so ingrained that a pure organ performance seems unlikely. Perhaps the choir sang the tenor, the congregation the bass, as they might have done in Scheidt's *duplicis contrapuncti* settings. In Nürnberg, when the congregation sang this hymn, they presumably sang it in unison (*choraliter*) with organ accompaniment.⁴⁸ Herold claims that the Creed

⁴⁶ The drastic change in the nature of written-down organ chorale settings seen in comparing Scheidt's and Pachelbel's works is seen also in looking at Buxtehude's music. As with Pachelbel's, the variation cycle is much less important in his output. Also not to be found is the imposing fugally constructed prelude setting. It is impossible to say whether Buxtehude improvised this type of piece, or whether the chorales were introduced in some other way. The large-scale north German fantasia does appear in his works, though rather scaled down when compared with the examples of his predecessors. The most striking development, however, is the single-movement setting with highly decorated *cantus firmus*, played 'a 2 Clav. e Ped.', the ultimate development of the so-called monodic type of organ chorale. (Buxtehude's surviving output of organ chorales comprises 30 single-verse *cantus-firmus* settings, eight chorale fantasias, one multi-verse setting, and four partitas, one of these having two verses, one three verses, the others four.) Again it is hard to say what these pieces were used for: they could have introduced the chorale; they could have functioned as an organ interlude in the performance of the chorale; they could have been concert pieces. What is certain is that none of Buxtehude's compositions could remotely have been used directly to accompany a sung performance. Perhaps it is this fact, which applies equally to most of Bach's output, added to the fact that Buxtehude's and Bach's organ chorales are the best known, perhaps even the only ones known to most organists in our age, that makes the idea that chorale settings might have been used for accompaniment seem to most people unlikely.

⁴⁷ *Handbuch* No. 66, p 51, gives the Apostle's Creed.

⁴⁸ The contract for Bach's second successor at Mühlhausen, Christoph Bieler, in 1730, talks of the organist playing *choraliter*, so the idea of 'unaccompanied' unison singing actually accompanied, but still not losing its *choraliter* character, is not far-fetched. Wolff 2001, p 107.

was sung either in Latin or as a German hymn.⁴⁹ The Athanasian Creed was also available as a German hymn, Luther's *Mensch, willst du leben seliglich*.

If there was to have been a sermon it would have been preached here.⁵⁰ The usual practice was for the pastor to be 'conducted' to the pulpit by means of some music: that might either have been a German hymn relevant to the sermon, a piece of music played on the organ, or a piece of concerted music, later to be known as the cantata, again relevant to the sermon. In earlier times this was when the *Kantoreigesellschaft* would have sung a chorale motet; often this piece of music was divided in two, the second half being performed after the sermon. After the sermon, or after the Creed if there was no sermon, came the exhortation ('Dearly beloved brethren, the scripture moveth us in sundry places'), followed by the words of institution ('and in the same night that he was betrayed'), sung by the Pastor. The words of institution, which now followed, had not been spoken aloud in the Roman service, but said *sotto voce* by the priest; they were considered important enough by the Lutherans, however, to be set to music by Luther. The *Sursum Corda*, however, was omitted in Nürnberg; Herold mentions this omission as a custom specific to Nürnberg, attributable to the need for a respite from Latin.⁵¹ Thus the words of institution introduce the *Sanctus*, to which the organ played a prelude (to give the choir its note if the words of institution were said); this piece was performed *alternatim* between organ and choir, but it is not clear from the order whether the whole text of the *Sanctus* was sung. Scheidt does not set the *Sanctus*; Praetorius' setting could easily have been performed in the manner specified in the *Lorenzkirche* order. The standard alternative to this style of performance is Luther's *Jesaja dem Propheten das geschah*, the so-called *German*

⁴⁹ Herold 1890, p 133.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, pp 129-130. Liliencron (Liliencron 1893, p 29) draws attention to the view of the *Hauptgottesdienst* serving a purpose even when there were no communicants, and sees the Sermon in this case as acting as a kind of ending for the liturgical part of the service; contrariwise, he suggests that there was still a place for the Mass without sermon, and that it was, in obedience to the old *Kirchenordnungen*, often, as here in the *Sebalduskirche*, still celebrated in this way into the 18th century (p 30). It should also be pointed out that according to some *Kirchenordnungen* the sermon was to be preached at the beginning of the service.

⁵¹ Liliencron draws attention to the fact that this omission (i. e. of the *Sursum Corda* and the Preface) reaches back to the Brandenburg-Nürnberg KO of 1533, to which *Kirchenordnung* the churches in Nürnberg clung tenaciously. This section was sung in other places, for instance in Liegnitz. Liliencron 1893, p 23.

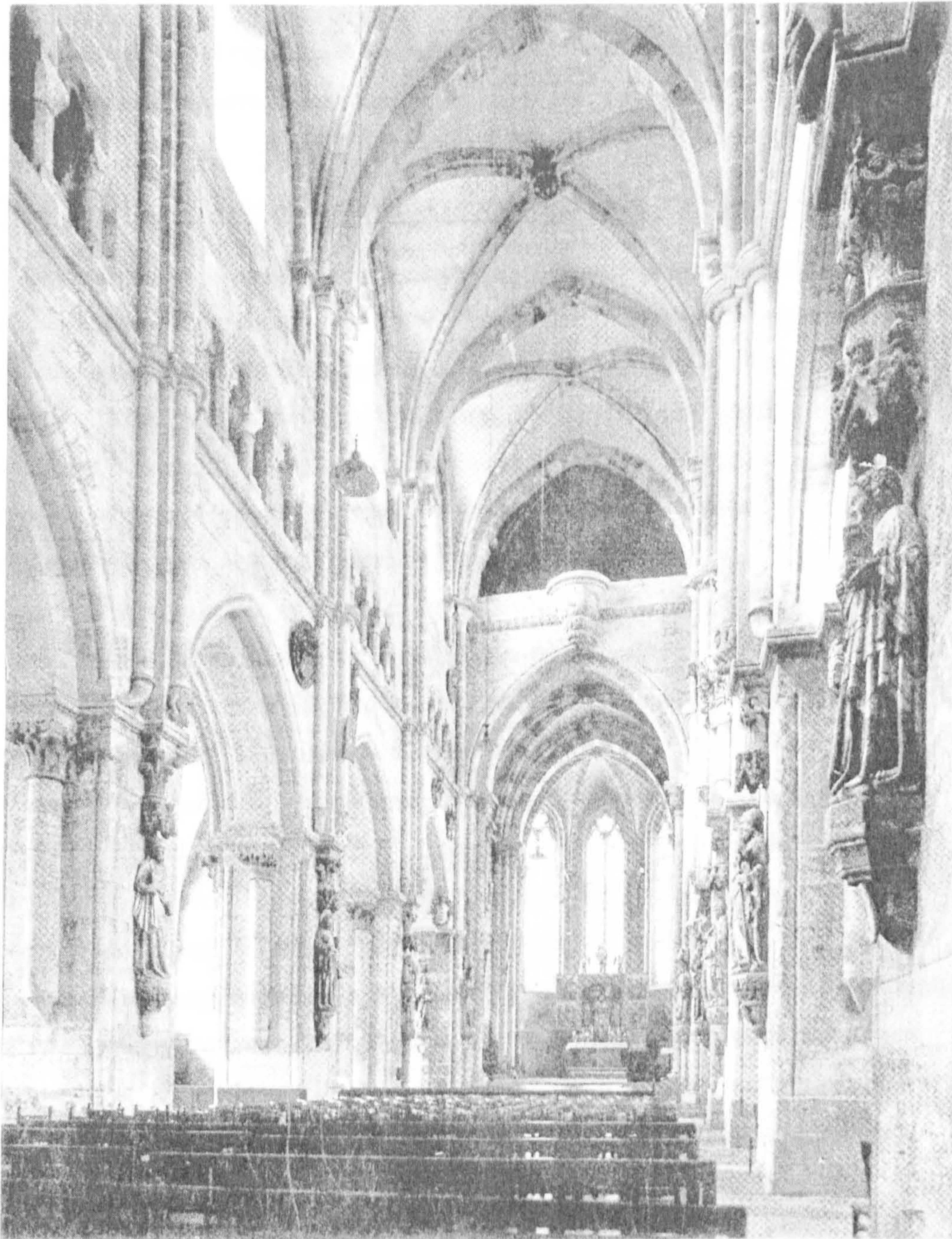


Plate 10 The interior of St. Sebaldus' Church, Nürnberg, in 1957, looking west. The apse can be clearly seen; being an Imperial church the building has an apse at each end. The furnishings were removed during the war and survived the destruction; the organ, unfortunately, did not. (C. H. Beck, München)

Sanctus, and Herold mentions it as an alternative for Nürnberg. There were also sundry chant-like German versions.⁵²

The Lord's Prayer, distribution of communion, *Agnus Dei*

The sung Lord's Prayer⁵³ and a Versicle concluded the prayers before the administration of the communion. At the distribution of the communion to each communicant the words 'Take and eat, this is the Body of Christ given for you', 'Take and drink, this is the Blood of Christ shed for you and for the forgiveness of your sins' were said. During the communion the *Agnus Dei*, a chant whose repetitious nature lends itself to the *alternatim* performance prescribed by the *Lorenzkirche* order, was sung. Herold gives the German equivalent, *O du Lamm Gottes*, as an alternative, while other metrical versions, such as Decius' *O Lamm Gottes unschuldig* and Luther's *Christe, du Lamm Gottes* were also widely used. The *Handbuch* give a number of chant-like German versions, some of them being extremely elaborate.⁵⁴ Herold says that if the communion went on a long time any number of German hymns could have been sung by the congregations, which hymns were to be found in 'this little book', without having mentioned the said book.⁵⁵ He is referring, presumably, to the various hymn books that included sections of communion prayers. He makes the point that hymn numbers were not used because there were so many hymn books in use, including here the renumbered newer version of the Nürnberg hymnbook, Nbg1690; hence the need for a prelude for each hymn. Foremost among the hymns likely to be sung during communion was *Jesus Christus unser Heiland, der von uns*, as the number of 'sub communione' settings of it for organ testifies. But almost any hymn could have been sung at this point.

Williams⁵⁶ points out that Mizler sees the purpose of organ music between the extended succession of communion hymns as being 'to give the communicants time for breath and to avoid leaving the church empty of sound'. If indeed it took hours to

⁵² *Handbuch, ibid*, Nos. 68-79, p 53.

⁵³ *Handbuch, ibid*, No. 341, p 251.

⁵⁴ *Handbuch, ibid*, Nos. 84-92, pp 61-63.

⁵⁵ Herold 1890, p 137.

⁵⁶ Williams 1984, p 29, citing Mizler, *Musicalischer Staatstecher*, Leipzig, 1740, pp 56-64.

distribute communion, this was an obvious point at which organ music could have been introduced. It is not hard to see that any of Pachelbel's organ chorales could have served at this point, nor that the enormously extended chorale fantasies of the north-German composers could also have found their *raison d'être* here.

Collect, Blessing

The service concluded with a Collect, a number of Versicles and Responses, and the Blessing. There is mention neither of a final hymn, nor of the organ's being played. Scheidt's *Ich ruf' zu dir* has already been mentioned as probably having been written to conclude a service. Pachelbel's large 'combination' type chorale preludes with the *cantus firmus* in the bass would have functioned admirably in the same role. That these pieces were probably written at Erfurt as test pieces to 'give proof to the whole Christian congregation of how he [Pachelbel] has improved himself in his office during the year',⁵⁷ shows the kind of piece he might have been required to play after a service. Could this be further proof that these pieces were used regularly as concluding voluntaries?

Having considered Pachelbel's organ chorales in their liturgical context it remains to analyse them in greater detail. Their overall form, their part writing and texture, their use of *Figuren*, their use of inherited keyboard compositional techniques, and their ambivalent position between the worlds of the modes and the major-minor key system, will form the subjects of the next chapters.

⁵⁷ Pachelbel's contract of appointment for the post of organist as the *Predigerkirche* in Erfurt, Welter 1998, pp 27-28. Seiffert evaluates these large-scale combination preludes (his term, incidentally) as being Pachelbel's annual test pieces for the Erfurt consistory and congregation, which they sat and listened to after a service, though Pachelbel would have needed more than one if he were, as the contract stipulated, to 'play on the entire organ for half an hour once a year at the end of a service'. Seiffert, *Geschichte der Klaviermusik*, Volume I, 1899, quoted in Apel 1972, p 657. Seiffert wrote: 'the congregation did not sing the chorale after the introductory fugue, but listened to its echo, produced by the organ with greater art and richer harmonies'.

Chapter 4

A classification of Pachelbel's organ chorales

4.1 Introduction

If the 44 organ chorales of Johann Christoph Bach (1642-1703) are all constructed in more or less the same way, this is doubtless primarily because they all served the same liturgical purpose, whether that was as preludes or *alternatim* verses. A more imaginative composer would probably, in the same circumstances, have varied the formula. Indeed, Sweelinck, whose organ chorales (in the broadest understanding of that term) also served one purpose only, the solo performance of the metrical psalm tunes to the congregation before services, was able to write settings that show a wide variety of styles. Either a2, a3 or a4, all Sweelinck's settings are of the *cantus-firmus* type, with the *cantus firmus* in treble, tenor or bass, either decorated or plain. These settings were usually grouped in sets of variations. Scheidemann, who translated the Sweelinck style into the context of the Lutheran service, utilises a similar range of styles. He also invented a new genre, the north-German chorale fantasia. But some other fine composers do not display the diversity of these two composers. Scheidt's settings are more uniform than either Sweelinck's or Scheidemann's. They also are a2, a3 or a4, but the ordering of the possible types in each set of variations is completely predictable. And Buxtehude, although writing chorale fantasies, confined himself in his organ chorales to the monodic type of setting '*a 2 Clav. e Ped.*' with a decorated *cantus firmus*. It is the works of J. S. Bach that show the greatest variety of styles. This is perhaps because he wanted to explore the musical possibilities of the organ chorale, rather than needing to write different types of chorale for different purposes; Bach seems to have set himself the task of integrating as many different styles as he could into the genre, and, even though earlier in his life his organ

chorales may well have served a practical liturgical purpose, by the time the great collections achieved their final form they were compendia of ideal settings, perhaps assembled as a retrospective survey of the organ chorale.

Pachelbel's organ chorales come second only to Bach's in their variety. While indeed, as is my contention, various types of his works were written for different purposes, and therefore were likely to be in different styles, Pachelbel was, like Bach, something of a collector. His one published set of eight organ chorales¹ was an attempt to illustrate all the possible types of chorale *preludes*, a kind of predecessor to Bach's collections. This collection is paradoxical, however, in that it contains types of pieces for which it seems Pachelbel would have had little use, while leaving out other types for the writing of which he was to become famous. Perhaps also Pachelbel as a teacher could have written works in diverse styles for illustrative purposes. There seem to be many reasons for the wide variety of styles that Pachelbel's organ chorales show.

As I shall suggest, however, this variety seems greater than it really is. This is because the greatest degree of uniformity of style stems from the composer's own personality; music by someone else sounds different even when using the same outward style. Thus all J. S. Bach's organ chorales sound like Bach, whether they are 'Böhm type' or 'Buxtehude type' or 'Pachelbel type'. Now while much of the variety of Pachelbel's organ chorales does indeed come from deliberate variations of style within his own musical language, there are several pieces the style of which is so divergent from this that the issue of authenticity is raised. The transmission of Pachelbel's organ music was by manuscript copies passed between organists for their own use. The consequence of this situation is that multiple attributions are rife. Jean Perreault's *Thematic Catalogue of the Musical Works of Johann Pachelbel*² is a comprehensive index that lists all the pieces ever attributed to Pachelbel, and is furnished with a complete array of possible different attributions. I shall first offer my own classification of all those pieces at some time attributed to Pachelbel; then I shall analyse generally the oeuvre from various standpoints; after that, alluding chiefly to Perreault's list of attributions, but also to some others, I offer my opinion

¹ *Acht Choräle zum Preambulieren (Erster Theil etlicher Choräle)*, Nürnberg, after 1693.

² Jean Perreault, *Thematic Catalogue of the Musical Works of Johann Pachelbel*, Lanham/Toronto/London, 2004.

as to why, on stylistic grounds, a number of works attributed to him may very well not be by Pachelbel, and vice-versa.

4.2 Six classification schemes

The wide variety of types of setting by Pachelbel has attracted the attention of many commentators; each classifies the organ chorales according to varying criteria. I offer an overview of six such classifications.

First, because Max Seiffert's classification was the earliest, and because it is so transparent and obvious, I give in some detail his analysis, as found in the Preface to his edition, the Pachelbel's organ works volume in *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern*.³ This detail will, I hope, also serve as an exercise in orientation, necessary, perhaps, before any more detailed description of the chorales is undertaken.

Seiffert (1868 -1948) was responsible for the first thorough edition of Pachelbel's keyboard works, published as Volume 1 of the 1903 publications of the *Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst (in Bayern)*. This DTB edition remains the best and most complete edition of the organ chorales.⁴ Seiffert cites 72 examples, but does not include in this volume the chorale partitas. His Preface describes the considerable chaos surrounding the manuscript situation with regard to these works. A. G. Ritter, in the middle of the nineteenth century, in the process of writing a book on the history of organ music (uncompleted at his death), had collected many manuscripts, and copied and indexed many more. On his death, however, this collection was dispersed, and Seiffert bemoans the loss of so much. Obviously Ritter had had sight of manuscripts, and had written down the incipits of pieces in them; sadly, many of these manuscripts have not been seen since. There remains in Ritter's index the tantalising vision of sundry pieces of which we now know nothing more.

Seiffert, in the introduction to his volume, undertakes a thorough survey of the organ chorales. He divides the organ chorales into five classes, categorising each

³ Max Seiffert (editor), *Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst, zweite Folge, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern*, vierter Jahrgang, 1. Band, Leipzig, 1903.

⁴ Michael Belotti is preparing a Complete Works for Keyboard Instruments by Pachelbel (Wayne Leupold), but has not yet arrived at the organ chorales.

class with reference to the contents of *Erster Theil etlicher Choräle*,⁵ the only publication of Pachelbel's organ chorales during his lifetime. Seiffert lists the number of the chorales in each class, citing the members of the *Etlicher Choräle*, the numbers of which he lists first, as paradigmata for all the others.

Seiffert's first class comprises the *Vorspielfugen* (his term):

Seiffert, class I

DTB 19 has been listed earlier as belonging to the *Etlicher Choräle*

DTB 1, 3, 12, 15, 16, 17, 28, 29, 39, 44, 70

Second are the *bicinia*:

Seiffert, class II

DTB 42 has been listed as in *Etlicher Choräle*

DTB 20, 26, 61

Third are the three-part settings, which Seiffert sub-divides into:

Seiffert, class III a

those with the *cantus firmus* in the cantus:

DTB 37 in *Etlicher Choräle*; DTB 6, 21, 30, 31, 36, 40, 46, 48a, 68

Seiffert, class III b

those with the *cantus firmus* in the bass:

DTB 57,65 in *Etlicher Choräle*; DTB 14, 35, 41, 45, 48b, 54, 59, 62, 67, 71

Seiffert, class IIIc

Those with the melody in the tenor:

one example, DTB 52, in *Etlicher Choräle*

⁵ *Acht Choräle zum Preambulieren*, Nürnberg, date of publication uncertain, either 1693 or 'around 1700', also called *Erster Theil etlicher Choräle*. For a full title of the piece, see footnote 19, p 137. The best modern edition is by Amadeus of Winterthur.

To this class he adds as a sub-section:

Seiffert, sub-class to class III

one example of the north-German type with the florid *cantus firmus*:

DTB 66, in *Etlicher Choräle*,

(presumably on the strength of its also being in three parts)

Fourth, the four-part settings are listed:

Seiffert, class IV

DTB 55 from the *Etlicher Choräle* as the paradigm

DTB 11, 32, 33, 43, 47, 51

All of these (apart from the paradigm, DTB 55) are now known to be by J. M. Bach, but Seiffert was unaware of this in the days before the discovery of the Neumeister manuscript, even though this had by then [1903] been sitting on a shelf in Yale University for some thirty years.

Seiffert, sub-class to class IV

To this class Seiffert adds a two-member sub-section:

DTB 24,

a *cantus-firmus* setting with the melody in the bass, undoubtedly belonging really to his fifth class, but because the usual initial fughetta is 'missing', Seiffert (presumably) felt unable to classify it as a 'combination-type' piece;

and

DTB 49,

a similar 'combination' piece, which, though it has an introductory fughetta, this is so slight that again Seiffert feels unable to see it as a combination type. His inclusion of these pieces here (he tells us) is on the strength of their having the *cantus firmus* in the bass.

6

Seiffert's fifth class is the combination-type settings, subdivided into:

⁶ Seiffert obviously realised that DTB 24 is a fragment, missing its preceding chorale fughetta, since he writes in his critical commentary: '*Bietet dazu Nr. 64 der Weimarer Tabulatur etwa eine Vorspielfuge?*' [Perhaps No. 64 in the Weimar Tabulatur will provide an introductory fughetta?] It doesn't, of course, but Seiffert could be forgiven for thinking in might in view of Ritter's papers. But this still doesn't explain why Seiffert didn't place *Erbarm dich mein, O Herre Gott*, in his class 5 where it belongs.

<p>Seiffert, class Va</p> <p style="text-align: center;">those with the <i>cantus firmus</i> in the cantus:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">DTB 2, 4, 5, 10, 18, 22, 27, 53, 60, 63, 64, 69</p>
<p>Seiffert, class Vb</p> <p style="text-align: center;">those with the <i>cantus firmus</i> in the bass:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">DTB 7, 9, 13, 23, 34, 38, 50, 56, 58</p>

Seiffert's classification revolves around the broad forms (fughetta or *cantus-firmus* setting, or a combination of these), and within those of the number of voices employed. He emphasises how significant the combination type is, how unique it is to Pachelbel, the purpose for which the examples of it were written, and why no example found its way into the *Etlicher Choräle*. The chorale partitas stand outside Seiffert's classification.

This classification is a most descriptive and immediately obvious one. Clearly the sub-sections of classes three and four are wide of the mark, and the whole of class four is brought into question by the now-confirmed authorship of J. M. Bach of all its members. Even so, if the following classifications should not exactly be measured against it, it should be borne in mind in assessing them.

Blume, in his *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirchenmusik*,⁷ offers four types. They are: chorale partita, chorale fugue (fughetta), small chorale prelude, and the 'combination' type. He characterises Pachelbel's work as embodying a new-found simplicity ('*eine neue Simplizität*') in contrast to the virtuosity of the north-German style.⁸ Blume's overriding view is, however, that it is a combination of *cantus-firmus* technique and fugal style that characterises Pachelbel's work.

Apel, in his *The History of Keyboard Music to 1700*, is more detailed than Blume. He suggests (leaving out of account the chorale partitas) that there are three types:

⁷ Blume 1965, p 177.

⁸ *Ibid.*

chorale fugues, which he characterises as ‘a traditional type of central-German’ piece;⁹ the north-German decorated type, of which there is in fact only one specimen; and the rest. The rest, however, he divides up into four. They are all *cantus-firmus* settings using the melodies in their ‘“Protestant *cantus plani*”’ form, ‘i. e. in the simple form in which they occur in the songbooks of the seventeenth century’,¹⁰ and are divided up into; *bicinia*, which he suggests ‘sound rather archaic’; trios ‘incorporating *Vorimitation* and parallel runs’; four-part settings ‘using extensive fore-imitation’; and finally the two types of ‘combination’ setting which Pachelbel invented. His view is thus that the crucial dividing line is between the *cantus-firmus* settings and the chorale fugues, a division that could have applied equally to Scheidt’s work, but leaves out of account Pachelbel’s incorporation of fugal technique in the *cantus-firmus* settings.

In his *Geschichte des Deutschen Orgelchorals im 17. Jahrhundert*,¹¹ Fritz Dietrich maintains that the organ chorale, as he calls it, lies between the fugue and the partita, having absorbed elements of both. The most significant examples of this fusion are, for Dietrich, the ‘combination’ type organ chorales that join together a chorale fugue and a *cantus-firmus* setting. The chorale fughetts in these settings are indistinguishable from the free-standing chorale fughetts.¹²

The *cantus-firmus* sections of the combination-type chorales are all what Dietrich calls *Typus der Choralbegleitung* (accompaniment type). This type (and there is a number of free-standing examples of it also) differs from what Dietrich calls *Typus der Partitenfiguration* (partita¹³ type). For Dietrich this differentiation is crucial, and the distinction is valid for all *cantus-firmus* settings. He sees the accompaniment type, whether in four parts with the *cantus firmus* in minims in the cantus, or in three

⁹ Apel 1972, p 655.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Fritz Dietrich, *Geschichte des deutschen Orgelchorals im 17. Jahrhundert*, Kassel, 1932. This is a reprint in the series *Heidelberger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*. Unfortunately there is no indication as to when the paper was originally written, but this must have been in the late nineteenth century.

¹² Indeed, Dietrich suggests that the free standing ones are no such thing, merely the remains of combination types, the *cantus-firmus* sections of which have been lost. This asseveration stands in direct contradiction to the thesis of Joelson-Strohbach, who believes that the combination-type pieces were assembled by J. G. Walther from formerly separate elements. It seems to me that neither theory is wholly correct. This I shall justify later.

¹³ Partita in the sense of variation, rather than as a movement of a dance suite.

parts with the *cantus firmus* in the bass and continuous semiquavers in the accompanying parts, as having the *cantus firmus* divided up into its lines with considerable and irregular time intervals between them, while the other parts proceed in an unbroken texture. Though there may be, and usually is, an introductory fugue to this *cantus-firmus* section, there is no fore-imitation after the chorale section starts. The partita type, on the other hand, resembles more the movements from the variation partita, and is usually in three parts. In this type the lines of the *cantus firmus* are all separated by one and a half bars or less. The *cantus firmus* can be in any part. The other parts are more rhythmically varied than in the accompaniment type. There is usually fore-imitation for each line of the chorale. At the end of each line the texture often breaks off all together to set off another point. It is in this latter type that the influence of the partita can be seen most strongly, whereas the influence of the fugues is more obvious in the combination types, but is also present in all the *cantus-firmus* settings, which all use fugal techniques to a greater or lesser extent.

Dietrich sets great store by this distinction between accompaniment and partita types. He is not consistent in his application of his criteria, however. There are some clear-cut examples of pieces that he classes as partita types, that meet his criteria; the *cantus firmus* is indeed divided neatly with exactly one and a half bars between each line of the tune, with fore-imitation for each line, making them 'text-book' examples of the type (e. g. *Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ* [DTB 30], and *Mein' Seel' erhebt den Herren* [DTB 48]). And there are on the other hand 'text-book' examples of accompaniment-type chorales where the lines of the melody are divided by large irregular gaps and where there is no fore-imitation after that introducing the first line (*Warum betrübst du dich, mein Herz* [DTB 60]). But these clear-cut examples are relatively rare, and are ideal examples illustrative of Dietrich's thesis. Much more frequently we find pieces that Dietrich classes as accompaniment type where the melody is divided by large irregular gaps, but there is nevertheless consistent fore-imitation for each line of the melody (*Ach wie elend ist unsre Zeit* [DTB 5]); or, conversely, sometimes there is no fore-imitation after the first line, but the melody is nonetheless neatly divided with one-and-a-half bar gaps between the lines (*An Wasserflüssen Babylon* [DTB 10]). And similarly with pieces that Dietrich classes as partita types we find either irregular-length time intervals between the lines (most

examples), or an absence of fore-imitation (*Jesus Christus unser Heiland, der den Tod* [DTB 41]). So while accepting Dietrich's ideal differentiation between the 'accompaniment' and 'partita' types, the distinction is in practice useless, since most examples display characteristics of both types. In the event, Dietrich classes as partita types the three-part *cantus-firmus* settings, all of which have a livelier contrapuntal style with wider ranging parts than the four-part settings, thus being more 'partita like'. Those three- and four-part *cantus-firmus* settings which have preceding chorale fugues, the 'combination' types, he classes as accompaniment types.

If we accept Dietrich's actual (as opposed to his theoretical) classification, there emerges another significant difference between the partita and the accompaniment type; those chorales that he classes as partita types use semiquavers in the accompanying lines to the *cantus firmus* (which proceeds mostly in minims). We can say that the general rate of movement of these lines is governed by semiquaver movement, and that rarely is there, never in some examples, a time when one or other part does not have semiquavers. In those chorales classified as accompaniment types, on the other hand, semiquavers are rare, often almost non-existent. The *cantus firmus*, in minims just as in the partita type, is nevertheless accompanied mostly by quaver movement. If there is semiquaver movement, it is used for intermittent rhythmic decoration of the lines. It might be said that the accompaniment-type of chorale was written in 'motet style, or '*alla-breve*' time. This distinction permeates the whole oeuvre. For instance all the chorale fughettsas, both free-standing and in the combination types, are sparing with semiquavers, and any following chorale section with the melody in the cantus uses semiquavers sparingly. All the a3 partita-type settings use semiquavers in abundance. However, although the *cantus firmus* sections of the combination-type chorales with the melody in the bass have absolutely continuous semiquavers, I think (as does Dietrich) that they remain accompaniment types, and it is the semi-quaver decoration played out against the background of the *alla-breve* time that generates the excitement.¹⁴

¹⁴ There is no suggestion in Dietrich that 'accompaniment type' implies that these chorales were played as accompaniments to singers or other instrumentalists (though I believe that they were). I think he means that the *cantus firmus* is accompanied in a manner that is accompanimental, is 'background', as it were, rather than the 'accompaniment' being a fully-fledged contrapuntal construction. But this is only my suggestion.

Dietrich regards the combination type as the unique Pachelbel type, and maintains that nothing is to be deduced from the fact that none of these examples was printed in his lifetime; they were for the composer's use only. So while he (Dietrich) sees this type as being something apart, he does not attempt a classification which might have started from the two distinct types of combination organ chorale. In his emphasis on the difference in texture, the difference between the accompaniment type and the partita type, as being the fundamental distinction, he presents a less clear-cut picture of Pachelbel's organ chorales than the previously mentioned commentators. His distinction between accompaniment and partita types is nevertheless a very real one, and I accept it and shall incorporate it into my scheme of classification. Even so, the various types of organ chorale that are in the Pachelbel oeuvre are so distinctive, and within their various types are so similar to each other, that I think a more detailed and comprehensive classification than any of those thus far discussed is possible.

Both Nolte¹⁵ and Welter¹⁶ offer more thorough if less perceptive analyses. They both start from Pachelbel's own classification derived from the contents of *Erster Theil etlicher Choräle*. They both point out that the accompaniment type is left out of this collection, which contains one chorale fugue, one decorated north-German type, one two-part, four three-part and one four-part examples of the partita type. Nolte goes on to enumerate the chorales not included in the *Etlicher Choräle* but which belong to the various categories found in it, and to analyse the combination types, dividing them into two according to where the *cantus firmus* is situated.

These classifications are very sound; I have no quibble with them. There are, however, two factors that seem to me to be important. One is the dubiety of the ascription to Pachelbel of those organ chorales now thought to be by J. M. Bach (and, vice versa, of two chorales previously ascribed to J. M. Bach but now thought more likely to be by Pachelbel). Indeed, since all of the above commentators, except

¹⁵ Ewald Valentin Nolte, *The instrumental works of Johann Pachelbel (1653-1706): an essay to establish his stylistic position in the development of the Baroque musical art*, Northwestern University, 1954, Chapter VI, (pp 148-184).

¹⁶ Kathryn Jane Welter, *Johann Pachelbel: Organist, Teacher, Composer: A critical re-examination of his Life, Works and historical Significance*, Harvard 1998, Chapters V (pp 135-150) and VI (pp 151-173).

for Welter, did their work, the whole ascription situation has changed radically.¹⁷ The other factor is the subsequent fame of what came to be known as the ‘Pachelbel type’, represented by the three-part *Durch Adams Fall* (DTB 21) and the setting of *Vater unser im Himmelreich* (DTB 55) in *Etlicher Choräle*. As the comments of Welter about *Vater unser* (‘the most magnificent of the eight’), and of Nolte (‘attains a degree of artistic perfection never before realised’) suggest, it occupies such a very special place in Pachelbel’s output that it (together with *Durch Adams Fall*) has come to constitute a unique category.

4.3 A classification of Pachelbel’s organ chorales

In view of these factors I now offer my own classification, which seeks to combine Dietrich’s insight into the two types he emphasises (accompaniment and partita) with Nolte’s. It gives appropriate emphasis to the ‘combination type’ as well as recognising the two distinct kinds of this type; it recognises the uniqueness of *Vater unser im Himmelreich* and it takes account of the J. M. Bach ascriptions. It may seem a little perverse to treat these latter for classification purposes as though they were by Pachelbel, since the ascription of the chorales in the Neumeister manuscript seems unchallengeable. However, since those J. M. Bach chorales that are of the accompaniment type with fugal introduction (Type V) form a distinct class *all* the members of which are by J. M. Bach, including these pieces in the scheme does not affect it. There is only one J. M. Bach attribution that is a simple chorale fughetta (Type I) and my belief is that this attribution is without substance. Further, I believe that three ascriptions of this type of piece to J. M. Bach in the Neumeister manuscript to be challengeable. I leave a discussion of the interesting issues raised by this situation until later. (Page 263)

I lay the chorales out in a table showing their grouping according to the types as I understand them, and explain each type in turn. For identification purposes I give the number of each organ chorale as found in the *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern* (DTB), reprinted by Dover. For those few works that do not appear in this publication I give the volume and page number in the Matthaei edition, or the page number in the complete organ works of J. M. Bach published by Carus of Stuttgart.

¹⁷ Welter wrote in 1998.

Table 4.1

Types of Pachelbel's organ chorales, showing ascription to other composers. Italicised entries show the contents of *Etlicher Choräle*.

Type I Chorale Fughetta	<u>Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein (DTB 1)</u> <u>Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder (DTB 3)</u> <u>Christ lag in Todesbanden (Carus J. M. Bach, No. 27)</u> <u>(also asc. to H. Bach and J. H. Buttstedt)</u> <u>Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht (DTB 12) (asc. J. S. Bach, BWV 1096)</u> <u>Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund (DTB 15) (asc. H. Bach)</u> <u>Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt (DTB 16) (ascription questioned- Heuschkel?)</u> <u>Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt (DTB 17)</u> <i><u>Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot (DTB 19)</u></i> <u>Es woll' uns Gott genädig sein (DTB 28)</u> <u>Es woll' uns Gott genädig sein (DTB 29)</u> <u>In dich hab' ich gehoffet, Herr (DTB 39) (asc. J. M. Bach)</u> <u>Komm, Heiliger Geist, Herre Gott (DTB 44) (asc. Armsdorf)</u> <u>Wo Gott zum Haus nicht giebt sein' Gunst (DTB 70)</u>
Type II Bicinium	<u>Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt (DTB 20)</u> <u>Es Spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl (DTB 26) (without question verse 2 of Scheidemann's partita on this chorale)</u> <i><u>Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der von uns (DTB 42)</u></i> <u>Was mein Gott will (DTB 61)</u>
Type III A3 Partita type	<u>Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr (DTB 6)</u> <u>Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam (DTB 14)</u> <u>Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt (DTB 21)</u> <u>Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ (DTB 30)</u> <u>Gott der Vater wohn' uns bei (DTB 31)</u> <u>Herr Gott, dich loben alle wir (DTB 35)</u>

	<u>Ich hab' mein' Sach' Gott heimgestellt (DTB 36)</u> <u>Ich ruf' zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ (DTB 37)</u> <u>Jesus Christus unser Heiland, der den Tod (DTB 40)</u> <u>(asc. Armsdorf)</u> <u>Jesus Christus unser Heiland, der den Tod (DTB 41)</u> <u>Kommt her zu mir, spricht Gottes Sohn (DTB 45)</u> <u>Lob sei Gott in des Himmels Thron (DTB 46)</u> <u>Meine Seel' erhebt den Herren (DTB 48)</u> <u>Nun lob mein' Seel' den Herren (DTB 52)</u> <u>O Mensch, beweine' dein' Sünde groß (DTB 54) (asc. J. S. Bach)</u> <u>Vom Himmel hoch da komm ich her (DTB 57)</u> <u>Was mein Gott will (DTB 62) (asc. Kittel)</u> <u>Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern (DTB 65)</u> <u>Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält (DTB 67)</u> <u>Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein (Matthaei III/p 46)</u> <u>Wo Gott zum Haus nicht giebt sein Gunst (DTB 71)</u> <u>Warum betrübst du dich, mein Herz (DTB 59)</u>
Type IV Simple accompaniment type	<u>Allein zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ (DTB 8)</u> and <u>Alio modo</u>
Type V Accompaniment type with fugal introduction	<u>Auf meinen lieben Gott (DTB 11) (asc. J. M. Bach)</u> <u>Gott hat das Evangelium (DTB 32) (asc. J. M. Bach)</u> <u>Gott Vater, der du deine' Sonn' (DTB 33) (asc. J. M. Bach)</u> <u>Mag ich Unglück nicht widerstahn (DTB 47) (asc. J. M. Bach)</u> <u>Nun laßt uns Gott dem Herren (DTB 51) (asc. J. M. Bach)</u> <u>Komm Gott, Schöpfer, heiliger Geist (DTB 43) (asc. J. M. Bach)</u> <u>Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält (DTB 68) (asc. J. M. Bach)</u>

Type VI Combination type, melody in the cantus	<u>Ach Gott vom Himmel, sieh darein (DTB 2)</u> <u>Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder (DTB 4)</u> <u>Ach wie elend ist unsre Zeit (DTB 5 {Aus tiefer Not})</u> <u>An Wasserflüssen Babylon (DTB 10)</u> <u>Christe, der du uns Tag und Licht (BWV 1096)</u> <u>Der Tag, der ist so freudenreich (DTB 18)</u> <u>Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt (DTB 22)</u> <u>Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl (DTB 27)</u> <u>Herr Jesu Christ, ich weiß gar wohl (Matthaei III/p.90) (asc. J. G. Walther)</u> <u>O Lamm Gottes unschuldig (DTB 53)</u> <u>Warum betrübst du dich, mein Herz (DTB 60)</u> <u>Was mein Gott will, das gescheh allzeit (Carus JMB p 60) (originally asc. J. M. Bach)</u> <u>Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist (DTB 63)</u> <u>Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sind (DTB 64)</u> <u>Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält (DTB 69)</u>
Type VII Combination type, melody in bass	<u>Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr (DTB 7) (asc. Buttstedt)</u> <u>An Wasserflüssen Babylon (DTB 9)</u> <u>Christ lag in Todesbanden (DTB 13)</u> <u>Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott (DTB 23)</u> <u>Erbarm dich mein, O Herre Gott (DTB 24)</u> <u>Herr Christ, der ein'ge Gottes Sohn (DTB 34)</u> <u>Ich ruf' zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ (DTB 38)</u> <u>Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein (DTB 49) (asc. J. M. Bach)</u> <u>Nun komm der Heiden Heiland (DTB 50)</u> <u>Vater unser im Himmelreich (DTB 56)</u> <u>Vom Himmel hoch da komm ich her (DTB 58)</u>
Type VIII 'Pure "Pachelbel type" '	<u>Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt (DTB 21)</u> <u>Vater unser im Himmelreich (DTB 55)</u> <u>[Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort (DTB 25) (asc. Buxtehude and Böhm)]</u>

Type IX	<u>Wir glauben all' an einen Gott (DTB 66)</u>
North-German decorated type	

4.4 Type I – Chorale Fughetta

1. Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein (DTB 1)
2. Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder (DTB 3)
3. Christ lag in Todesbanden (Carus J. M. Bach, No. 27) (also asc. to H. Bach and J. H. Buttstedt)
4. Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht (DTB 12) (asc. J. S. Bach, BWV 1096)
5. Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund (DTB 15) (asc. H. Bach)
6. Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt (DTB 16) (ascription questioned-Heuschkel?)
7. Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt (DTB 17)
8. Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot (DTB 19)
9. Es woll' uns Gott genädig sein (DTB 28)
10. Es woll' uns Gott genädig sein (DTB 29)
11. In dich hab' ich gehoffet, Herr (DTB 39) (asc. J. M. Bach)
12. Komm, Heiliger Geist, Herre Gott (DTB 44) (asc. Armsdorf)
13. Wo Gott zum Haus nicht giebt sein' Gunst (DTB 70)

Dietrich sees this type as a reduction of Scheidt's introductory *Choralricercar* type.¹⁸ Whereas Scheidt treated all the lines of the chorale in a series of contrapuntal

¹⁸ Dietrich calls it a 'Fantasy', to distinguish it from a *cantus-firmus* setting. While accepting what he says about it, I go along with Breig in using the term *Choralricercar*. Breig, in Werner Breig, *Die Orgelwerke von Heinrich Scheidemann*, Wiesbaden, 1967, p 18, gives an explanation of why the term 'Fantasy' is unsatisfactory.

Breig also, interestingly, calls attention to (and himself adopts) Hans Keller's use of the term *Orgelchoral*, not as a general term for 'chorale-prelude' [*Orgel-Choralbearbeitung im allgemeinen*], for which purpose the term *Choralbearbeitung* is used, but rather in a limited sense as a *cantus-firmus* setting in which the whole melody appears in a form that the congregation or choir will sing:

points, by the time of Pachelbel the central-German tradition had reduced this to a treatment of just the first line. The above-mentioned 44 organ chorales of Johann Christoph Bach were a kind of half-way house; Bach often treated two of the chorale lines, sometimes all of them. Pachelbel only ever treats the first, though in a very few instances the second provides a 'fugal answer' [*Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein* (DTB 2); *Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder* (DTB 3); *Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt* (DTB 17) and the first part of *Herr Christ der einige Gottes Sohn* (DTB 34)]. In almost all the free-standing examples of this type the final entry of the subject (or the final clearly heard one – sometimes the bass enters in the last few bars) is at the correct pitch for singing the chorale. The larger setting of *Es woll' uns Gott genädig sein* (DTB 29) is in this last respect an exception. This piece is twice as long as the usual free-standing chorale fughetta, being really two such pieces in one. The final entry in the first part (bar 18) is at the right pitch for singing, so this half could have been used on its own as a prelude. But when both halves were played the piece was perhaps not intended to be used as a prelude in this way.

As has been mentioned in connection with Apel's classification, this genre was very common in central Germany; many written-down examples have survived.¹⁹ The purpose of these pieces was to introduce the chorale; this can be deduced from J. C. Bach's collection, from the examples in Weimar 1704, and from the use of such pieces to introduce the *cantus-firmus* parts of the combination-type organ chorales. That so many of this class have been ascribed to other composers may be testament to the widespread dissemination of this type of piece.

[...einmalige, zusammenhängende Durchführung des ganzen Chorals, also eine Gestaltungsweise, die der ursprünglichen Art, in der Choral erklingt (von der Gemeinde bzw. vom Chor gesungen) formal nahebleibt.] I understand this to mean any *cantus-firmus* setting where the form (strictly understood) remains intact (i. e. no lines are repeated or left out) but in which the melody might be decorated. Breig 1967, p 18. My use of the term organ chorale is wider than this.

¹⁹ The titles of J. Christoph Bach's 44 organ chorales and Pachelbel's publication are so similar that it seems some form of parody, emulation or homage was intended. Bach's pieces are called; *44 Choräle welche bey währendem Gottesdienst zum Preambulieren gebraucht werden können, gesetzt und herausgegeben von Johann Christoph Bachen, Organ: in Eisenach*. [44 chorales that can be used as preludes during the church service, set and published by Johann Christoph Bach, organist at Eisenach.] Pachelbel's set was called; *Erster Theil etlicher Choräle welche Bey währenden Gottes Dienst zum Preambuliren gebraucht werden können gesetzt Und dem Clavier-Liebenden zum besten heraus gegeben von Iohann Bachelbeln Org; zu St. Sebald in Nürnberg*. [The first part of several chorales that can be used as preludes during the service, for the benefit of keyboard enthusiasts, published by Johann Pachelbel, organist at St. Sebaldus' Church, Nuremberg.] J. Christoph Bach was J. Michael Bach's brother; both were sons of Heinrich Bach (1615-1692). This J. Christoph Bach is not to be confused with J. S. Bach's brother Johann Christoph, who assumed custody of Sebastian when he was orphaned, and who was a pupil of Pachelbel. (Welter 1998), p 138.

There are 13 free-standing examples of this type, the attribution of six of them to Pachelbel being disputed; they are among the slightest of Pachelbel's organ chorales. But in addition to these there are the 22 combination organ chorales of types VI and VII, with a further three of disputed attribution (and also BWV 1096, the fughetta of which is included in Type I), all of which begin with a chorale fughetta. The finest and most extended examples of this type are however to be found amongst these combination types. This tally makes the chorale fugue a much more significant element of the oeuvre than the 13 generally small-scale free-standing examples in this class would suggest.

4.5 Type II – Bicinium

- | |
|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <u>Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt (DTB 20)</u> 2. <u>Es Spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl (DTB 26) (without question verse 2 of Scheidemann's partita on this chorale)</u> 3. <u>Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der von uns (DTB 42)</u> 4. <u>Was mein Gott will (DTB 61)</u> |
|---|

This is the smallest class of all. In earlier times this type of piece tended to form part of a chorale partita, in which the contrast between its sparse texture and the surrounding more fully scored variations could be telling. Pachelbel wrote no chorale partitas for liturgical use, so there are very few free-standing *bicinia*. Nevertheless, the chorale partitas of the *SterbensGedancken* (the set of chorale partitas published in Pachelbel's lifetime, of which a copy does not survive, thus giving rise to uncertainty as to exactly which of the chorale partitas were in it) contain many a *bicinium*. All the genuine (i. e. by Pachelbel) examples of this type are partita types as understood by Dietrich.

Jesus Christus unser Heiland, der von uns (DTB 42) is something of a show piece. Doubtless included in *Etlicher Choräle* for the sake of completeness,²⁰ this piece demonstrates the two possible placements of the *cantus firmus*. This gives Pachelbel

²⁰ Pachelbel's intention in publishing *Etlicher Choräle* was to demonstrate all the possible types of chorale prelude.

the opportunity to write his only multi-verse organ setting.

Fore-imitation is used regularly even in these sparse pieces. While it is difficult to think of them as examples of fugal technique, the principle is the same as in the overtly fugal pieces in a larger number of parts, that is, the introduction of each line in imitation.

The inclusion of Scheidemann's *bicinium* from his setting of *Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl* (DTB 26) in Pachelbel's oeuvre is unexplained. Long rejected as stylistically completely different from Pachelbel's music (Apel opines that it must be by Sweelinck or Scheidemann),²¹ it was not until Scheidemann's music became widely known that its true identity was discovered. Even so, Perreault can do no better than to say 'Ascription questioned'.²² Of all the pieces of doubtful ascription, this is the one of which the true identity is least in doubt.

4.6 Type III – a3 Partita type

1. Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr (DTB 6)
2. Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam (DTB 14)
3. Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt (DTB 21)
4. Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ (DTB 30)
5. Gott der Vater wohn' uns bei (DTB 31)
6. Herr Gott, dich loben alle wir (DTB 35)
7. Ich hab' mein' Sach' Gott heimgestellt (DTB 36)
8. Ich ruf' zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ (DTB 37)
9. Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der den Tod (DTB 40) (asc. Armsdorf)
10. Jesus Christus unser Heiland, der den Tod (DTB 41)
11. Kommt her zu mir, spricht Gottes Sohn (DTB 45)
12. Lob sei Gott in des Himmels Thron (DTB 46)
13. Meine Seel' erhebt den Herren (DTB 48)
14. Nun Lob mein' Seel' den Herren (DTB 52)
15. Mensch, beweine dein' Sünde groß (DTB 54) (asc. J. S. Bach)

²¹ Apel 1972, p 656.

²² Perreault 2004, p 79.

16. Vom Himmel hoch da komm ich her (DTB 57)
17. Was mein Gott will (DTB 62) (asc. Kittel)
18. Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern (DTB 65)
19. Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält (DTB 67)
20. Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein (Matthaei III, p 46)
21. Wo Gott zum haus nicht giebt sein Gunst (DTB 71)
22. Warum betrübst du dich, mein Herz (DTB 59)

With twenty-two items, the ascription of only three of which is doubtful, this is the largest and most authentic group. Pachelbel included no fewer than four of this type in *Etlicher Choräle* (i. e. half the collection). He must have regarded this type as of special importance. All these pieces (except *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein*) are of the partita type in the sense that Dietrich means it.

A possible subdivision is between those chorales with the *cantus firmus* in the soprano and those with it in the bass. The only example with the *cantus firmus* in the middle part is *Nun lob, mein' Seel' den Herren* (DTB 52) from the *Etlicher Choräle*, included there doubtless for the sake of completeness. This organ chorale is, despite the strictures of Nolte,²³ an example of particularly fine craftsmanship.

The principle of fore-imitation is paramount in the pieces in this group. Each line is introduced with a small fugal exposition, the line of the chorale forming the third fugal entry (though of course in augmentation). In the most consistently worked-out examples (e. g. DTB 21) all the parts break off at the end of each line of the chorale. The ensuing mini-exposition of the next line then starts from silence. More usually this point is masked by parts carrying through after the end of the chorale line. Sometimes this join is a passage of sequential material (sometimes in thirds and sixths), though this is relatively unusual. The counterpoint of those pieces with the *cantus firmus* in the soprano flows in a particularly neat and felicitous fashion. In those pieces with the melody in the bass the part writing is more disjointed, and more recourse is made to parallel thirds and sixths; although unconstrained by the tessitura of the *cantus firmus* in the cantus, and thus able to use the whole compass of the

²³ Nolte (Nolte 1954, p 178) writes: 'If this particular composition had not actually appeared in the published collection of "Acht Choräle[n]" one would be inclined to reject it as a work by Pachelbel. [.....] he does not treat this melody in the felicitous manner we have come to expect of him.'

keyboard, the constraint of the melody functioning as the bass line, which it does not always do well, results sometimes in a certain awkwardness.

As already indicated, in my view Dietrich's criteria for the distinction between partita and accompaniment types is theoretically perfectly tenable, but in practice very few examples allow themselves so to be classified. More germane is the fact that all the examples of partita-type chorales that I have assembled in this class, even when presenting a *cantus firmus* in minims (i. e. in 'long notes'), are written in 4/4 with a crotchet beat and have moving parts chiefly involved in semiquaver movement. This distinguishes them from the accompaniment-type chorales, which, though printed in 4/4 time, are written in practice in 2/2, and use semiquavers much more rarely, often very rarely. A further usual difference between the examples of the two classes – the fact that partita-type chorales tend to be a3, accompaniment-type chorales a4 – is incidental.

4.7 Type IV – Simple accompaniment type

Allein zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ (DTB 8)
and Alio modo

The two versions of *Allein zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ* (DTB 8) are unusual in their simplicity. They resemble Scheidt's settings in the *Görlitzer Tabulaturbuch*. Despite the occasional decoration of the melody they would function perfectly well as accompaniments. Seiffert is of the opinion that they originally had introductory fughettsas.²⁴ I do not think this to be the case. Dietrich alludes to Scheidt's *Görlitzer Tabulaturbuch* settings in positing his classification; these are two perfect examples of the style.

²⁴ Seiffert 1903, p XV. Although Seiffert mentions this piece there, it does not appear in his classification.

4.8 Type V – Accompaniment type with fugal introduction

1. Auf meinen lieben Gott (DTB 11) (asc. J. M. Bach)
2. Gott hat das Evangelium (DTB 32) (asc. J. M. Bach)
3. Gott Vater, der du deine Sonn' (DTB 33) (asc. J. M. Bach)
4. Mag ich Unglück nicht widerstahn (DTB 47) (asc. J. M. Bach)
5. Nun laßt uns Gott dem Herren (DTB 51) (asc. J. M. Bach)
6. Komm Gott, Schöpfer, heiliger Geist (DTB 43) (asc. J. M. Bach)
7. Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält (DTB 68) (asc. J. M. Bach)

This type is the most problematical. Both Seiffert and Nolte assign these chorales to a class of their own, along with the setting of *Vater unser* in *Etlicher Choräle*, (simply on the strength of its being in four parts) claiming that they are really like the Type III partita-type pieces, but in four parts. I do not think they are partita-type chorales, and I place *Vater unser im Himmelreich* in a different class. This means that all seven examples that I consider to be of this type are by J. M. Bach.

Superficially these chorales resemble the combination type in having a moderately well developed fore-imitation section as an introduction to the *cantus-firmus* section. The essential difference between them and the combination type (VI), however, is that in the true combination type the preceding chorale fugue could be complete in itself, is much longer than a mere fugal exposition, and uses all four parts equally. Here, however, the preceding fore-imitation takes place in only three parts, the chorale melody forming as it were the entry of the fourth part into the fugal scheme, this entry then turning out to be the *cantus firmus*. This scheme does occur, *mutatis mutandis*, in the type III chorales, but there, because all the examples are a3, the preceding fugal exposition is necessarily limited to the two preceding entries, as it is in the sole three-part member of the group presently being discussed, *Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält* (DTB 68).²⁵ In all the other examples there are at least three

²⁵ This chorale could quite easily have gone with those pieces of type III. Nevertheless, because it consistently eschews fore-imitation after the initial fugal point (which feature is very rare, almost non-existent, in the a3 settings of type III), thus making it very clearly an accompaniment type according to Dietrich's ideas, and because it is by J. M. Bach, I have placed it here. A consistent application of Dietrich's distinction between partita and accompaniment type would have rendered the classification

preceding entries before the *cantus firmus* comes in. In two of them, *Gott hat das Evangelium* (DTB 32) and *Auf meinen lieben Gott* (DTB 11), fore-imitation is extended beyond the scope of a simple fugal introduction. Indeed in the latter piece all four parts are involved, though only very briefly all together. Even so, these introductory sections could not stand by themselves. It seems to me that these pieces are J. M. Bach's version of the combination organ chorale. It is difficult to determine who had the idea first. The two composers were more or less contemporary (Bach eight years older), and must have come into contact with each other.²⁶

There is a certain irony of the situation with respect to *Auf meinen lieben Gott*. In the DTB text there is a fore-imitation section that does indeed use all four parts, though it is only in four parts very briefly. The version in the Neumeister manuscript, attributable to J. M. Bach, is, however, considerably different from this; although the chorale section is more or less identical in both pieces, the preceding fugal section in the 'J. M. Bach' (Carus) version is a fully-developed chorale fughetta using all four parts systematically in the manner of Pachelbel, and although based on the same fugal subject (the first line of the chorale), it treats it in quite a different manner from the version in DTB. In this section of the piece we can say we are dealing with a different piece; the irony is that the version undoubtedly by J. M. Bach (if you accept the ascriptions in the Neumeister manuscript) is more in Pachelbel's style, the version in the DTB (whether by Pachelbel or not is hard to say) is more in J. M. Bach's style. Who actually wrote what remains a mystery.

very cumbersome and opaque; nevertheless, here I believe is an example where cognisance of it can lead to clarification, if not consistency.

Christoff Wolff is in no doubt as to the primacy of J. M. Bach here, even seeing him as a more significant composer than Pachelbel. (Seiffert also, by hailing the pieces in this group as 'belonging to the most substantial and characteristic for their historical time of all Pachelbel's works' is inadvertently of the same opinion.) While there is no doubt, as I concede later, that J. M. Bach is more imaginative in many ways than Pachelbel, I feel that it is precisely in the execution of the 'genre of fugued and figured chorales' (Wolff) that Pachelbel outshines J. M. Bach. Wolff's comments are to be found in the Introduction to the facsimile edition of the Neumeister manuscript, Bärenreiter, Kassel, 1985, p 8.

²⁶ There is one example of a chorale starting with a chorale fughetta that is a more-or-less complete section using all four parts; *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der den Tod überwand* (Carus, p 28). This chorale has never been attributed to Pachelbel, and strikes one as being unquestionably genuine J. M. Bach. The fugal writing does not seem to build as it would in a Pachelbel piece, since whenever the fourth part enters to make the texture complete one of the other parts almost immediately drops out. The piece is unambiguously ascribed to J. M. Bach in the Neumeister manuscript.

As Williams (Williams 1984, p 25) points out, Spitta makes a comparison between the three settings of *In dich hab' ich gehoffet*, those by Johann Christian Bach, Pachelbel and J. M. Bach (Spitta 1899, Volume I, p 119). He seems to give the palm to J. M. Bach. There is indeed no question that the piece (Carus, p 54) is a fine work.

Brief mention should be made here of the fact that the text of these chorales as found in the Neumeister manuscript is different from that in DTB. The differences are very minor, mostly being rhythmical alterations to the inner parts, and in no way can the differing versions be considered as anything other than variants of the same piece. Nevertheless the number of alterations is quite large, between ten and twenty for each piece. I believe that this raises an issue of the transmission of the ‘definitive’ text. This issue I shall address later. (Page 257)

Types III, IV and V taken together are what Blume calls ‘small organ chorales’. Both Seiffert and Apel cite the examples of type V as a separate class while unwittingly listing only works attributed to J. M. Bach, and Seiffert compounds the error by eulogising the type as belonging ‘to the most substantial and characteristic for their historical time of all of Pachelbel’s works’.²⁷

4.9 Type VI – Combination type with the *cantus firmus* in the cantus

1. Ach Gott vom Himmel, sieh darein (DTB 2)
2. Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder (DTB 4)
3. Ach wie elend ist unsre Zeit (DTB 5) {Aus tiefer Not}
4. An Wasserflüssen Babylon (DTB 10)
5. Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht (BWV 1096)
6. Der Tag, der ist so freudenreich (DTB 18)
7. Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt (DTB 22)
8. Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl (DTB 27)
9. Herr Jesu Christ, ich weiß gar wohl (Matthaei III/p.90) (asc. J. G. Walther)
10. Lamm Gottes unschuldig (DTB 53)
11. Warum betrübst du dich, mein Herz (DTB 60)
12. Was mein Gott will, das gescheh’ allzeit Carus JMB p 60)
(originally asc. J. M. Bach)
13. Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist (DTB 63)

²⁷ Seiffert 1903, p XIII.

14. Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sind (DTB 64)
15. Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält (DTB 69)

The 15 chorales in this group (along with the 11 of type VII) represent what is unique of Pachelbel's organ chorale types. The 'combination' is of a chorale fughetta followed by an organ chorale of the accompaniment type, here with the *cantus firmus* in the cantus. All the chorale fughettas are extended well beyond a mere exposition and are of high quality, more impressive than almost all of the free-standing examples. They involve all four parts. The accompaniment-type chorale section is also in four parts in all the examples except for *Der Tag, der ist so freudenreich*, where it is in three, despite the preceding fughetta's being in four. The accompanying counterpoint in the chorale section tends to be seamless, with very few rests, and with no fore-imitation.

The ascription to J. G. Walther of *Herr Jesu Christ, ich weiß gar wohl* (Matthaei III, p 90) seems a most daring step; the likelihood of this ascription will be discussed elsewhere (page 277). On the surface there is not a lot to distinguish this piece from the other members of the class. A broader consideration, however, is that confusion must arise from the fact that much of Pachelbel's music survives in manuscript in Walther's hand. While both Joelson-Strohbach²⁸ and Dietrich 'accuse' Walther of interfering with the transmission of Pachelbel's music, (the former saying that Walther brought together separate items to make these combination chorales, the latter [and Seiffert] saying that he separated what had previously been unities), there is of course no reason why Walther himself, even if only for the exercise, should not have tried to write an organ chorale 'in the style of Pachelbel'. Who can say?

The other peculiarity in this group is the setting of *Was mein Gott will, das gscheh allzeit* (Carus JMB p.60). Previously ascribed to J. M. Bach, the Carus edition assigns it tentatively to Pachelbel. There is a concordance in D-B Mus. MS 11419, where the piece is to be found attributed to 'Pachelbel'. While agreeing that on

²⁸ Harry Joelson-Strohbach, *Nachricht von verschiedenen verloren geglaubten Handschriften mit barocker Tastenmusik*, Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, Jahrgang XLIV, Heft 2 (1987), Stuttgart, 1987.

stylistic grounds it could belong to either composer, its interest here is its classification. It sets the *cantus firmus* in the style of an accompaniment with a touch here and there of fore-imitation. It is ‘shorn’ of its preceding chorale fugue, however. Whether J. G. Walther was guilty either of removing it (Dietrich) or failing to join it on (Joelson-Strohbach), as it stands it is a very fine example of the type. I have assumed it once had a preceding chorale fugue, since there is no other example of an accompaniment-type setting of a comparable complexity not starting with a chorale fughetta, or at least with a fugal exposition, in the works of either composer.

There is however one other more doubtful case, which is the setting of *O Lamm Gottes unschuldig* (DTB 53). The doubt here lies not in the authenticity of the piece, but whether the two parts of it really belong together. Whereas in all the other examples the chorale fughetta is joined seamlessly to the chorale section, here, in Seiffert’s text, there is a full close at the end of the fughetta, and the chorale section then starts. The reason for this is that the two parts are to be found only as items in separate manuscripts, and their being joined together is a surmise of Seiffert’s in his capacity as editor of the DTB Volume of Pachelbel’s organ works. These two pieces are the only examples in the sources where a fughetta and a chorale on the same melody exist separately, without there being also some other source that shows them joined together. Whether the two parts can be taken as belonging together, like the other pairs transmitted both separately and together, and we merely by chance lack a source with them joined, cannot be proved. Whether Seiffert was right to print them together as he did, or whether he should have gone even farther and placed in the text his suggestion for how they might have been joined together originally, will be discussed at the end of the chapter.

4.10 Type VII – Combination type with the *cantus firmus* in the bass

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| 1. | <u>Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr (DTB 7) (asc. Buttstedt)</u> |
| 2. | <u>An Wasserflüssn Babylon (DTB 9)</u> |
| 3. | <u>Christ lag in Todesbanden (DTB 13)</u> |
| 4. | <u>Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott (DTB 23)</u> |

5. Erbarm dich mein, O Herre Gott (DTB 24)
6. Herr Christ, der ein'ge Gottes Sohn (DTB 34)
7. Ich ruf' zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ (DTB 38)
8. Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein (DTB 49) (asc. J. M. Bach)
9. Nun komm der Heiden Heiland (DTB 50)
10. Vater unser im Himmelreich (DTB 56)
11. Vom Himmel hoch da komm ich her (DTB 58)

Much of what was said of the previous type can be said of this also. The final chorale section with the melody in the bass accompanied by two upper parts in complementary-figuration style as in Pachelbel's usual style in these pieces is so completely unusual that it marks Pachelbel's unique achievement. The only other examples are to be found are by J. M. Bach (*Nun freut euch* [DTB 49]) and *Gott hat das Evangelium* [Carus, p 20]); in both cases, however, the introductory chorale fugue is so perfunctory, and the figurations in the final section so tame, as to make the ascription (of *Nun freut euch*) to Bach most plausible. This might also suggest that the influence between the composers was from Pachelbel to Bach, rather than vice versa.

Unusual about the texture of these pieces is the doubling of the pedal part at the octave on the manual. This makes these pieces quite awkward to play (the difference between the original version of *Christ lag in Todesbanden* and the version in the Bach Gesellschaft edition has already been alluded to). Maybe it was to have the melody doubled at singing pitch, maybe to allow for *manualiter* performance, that they were written like this. Perhaps also Pachelbel had no *Hauptwerk-Pedal* coupler.

Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr (DTB 7) is quite unlike the others except in the broadest formal outline, and its ascription to Buttstedt seems plausible. It is nevertheless a fine piece.

Erbarm dich mein, O Herre Gott (DTB 24) is an example of this type, minus its preceding chorale fughetta. In this it represents something completely unusual. First, a setting where the *cantus firmus* starts without preamble is a procedure unseen outside the chorale partitas (except for *Wir glauben* (DTB 66) and *Was mein Gott*

will [Carus p 60]). Similarly, this type of setting, with the *cantus firmus* in the bass, that starts straight in with the chorale section, is unknown apart from this example. In all the other examples the following section is seamlessly joined to the preceding fughetta; it would be impossible to perform the chorale sections of the other pieces by themselves; there is nowhere to start. Indeed, the first chord of the chorale part of most of the combination settings, including those in class VI, is a discord or a 6/3 inversion, a most striking interjection that reinforces the entry of the *cantus firmus*.

If we take types VI and VII together, making 32 authentic items and four of disputed authenticity, they form the largest class. This is in accord with the idea that these types are the Pachelbel organ chorale *par excellence*. And while other styles that Pachelbel made use of were developed by later composers, none created anything quite like these pieces. They are also the largest-scale organ chorales that Pachelbel wrote; their compactness on the page and the relative clarity and simplicity of the form give little indication of how imposing they may be in performance.

4.11 Type VIII – ‘Pure “Pachelbel type” ’

1. Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt (DTB 21)

2. Vater unser im Himmelreich (DTB 55)

[Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort (DTB 25) (asc. Buxtehude and Böhm)]

Other commentators place the setting of *Vater unser im Himmelreich* (DTB 56) in other classes. Seiffert, Apel, Nolte and Welter do so by virtue of its being in four parts. Dietrich places it with the partita types, in which he is completely correct by his own lights. Nevertheless, it seems to me that although it is a development of the *cantus-firmus* partita type (class III), but in four parts, it is formally of such perfect consistency and clarity that it deserves a class of its own. Pachelbel wrote no other four-part partita-type chorale.

The piece is constructed from a succession of completely regular three-part fugal expositions, each introducing a line of the chorale. Twice these expositions are masked by parts carrying on from the previous section, but this does not interfere with the regularity of the structure. The chorale lines are presented in minims

(against quavers and semiquavers in the accompaniment) with the usual one and a half bars rest between the chorale lines. In all this we can see the development of features present elsewhere. It is the regularity and felicity of it all that lifts this piece onto a higher plane. J. S. Bach's so-called 'death-bed' chorale (*Vor deinem Thron tret' ich hiermit*) is constructed in precisely the same way (though the fugal expositions and consequently time intervals between the lines are much longer). Despite the fact that this latter piece is a reworking of an *Orgelbüchlein* chorale, and moreover a reworking a version of which appeared many years before J. S. Bach's death, it has achieved a certain status. Pachelbel's scheme in all its purity also appears in a number of other chorales by Bach, and nineteenth-century commentators therefore christened these works 'Pachelbel type'. This led to the elevation of this type as the most typical of Pachelbel's creations. That it is not; that accolade belongs to the combination type. Nevertheless, Pachelbel's example has always attracted admiration and eulogies.

There is a way in which this piece reverts to a formal scheme that Pachelbel rejected elsewhere, that of Scheidt's *Choralricercar*. Scheidt, in his organ pieces of that type, treats each line fugally with absolute consistency, but does not normally present the chorale line complete as a *cantus firmus* in augmentation at the end of each section. In the Fantasia on *Ich ruf' zu dir*, however, he does allow the chorale lines to appear in iso-metric style in augmentation (except for one line where it is in normal note values), usually in the bass. Although Pachelbel's piece is on a much smaller scale than Scheidt's, the formal similarity is exact. Pachelbel, whose chorale fuguettes normally treat only the first line of the chorale has here treated every line. He has combined the chorale fugue and the *cantus-firmus* setting (rather than placing them one after the other).

Viewed in this light *Durch Adams Fall* (DTB 21) can be seen as exactly similar. None of the inter-line expositions is masked by parts carrying on from the preceding section; rather, each section breaks off to allow the next exposition to come out of silence; indeed, even though the piece is only in three parts, the form is even clearer, and there is more contrast between the 'accompanying' voices and the *cantus firmus*.

Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort (DTB 25) is so unlike anything that Pachelbel wrote that it is strange that it should ever have found its way into the oeuvre.

Although resembling the other members of this class in having a series of fairly regular fugal expositions of each line of the chorale culminating in a complete chorale line, this comes in the bass and is not in augmentation, something unknown elsewhere in Pachelbel's organ chorales. There is a neat break after each line, allowing the following exposition to start from silence, but the intervals between statements of the *cantus firmus* are variable and sometimes very lengthy. The counterpoint is more disjointed, reminding one of the *canzona-alla-francese* style; indeed, as Sarber points out, although the piece is constructed as a four-part composition, it is hardly ever in four parts.²⁹ The work appears regularly in collections of Buxtehude's and Böhm's organ works. It seems to me not to resemble anything else by Buxtehude either, so perhaps it was written by Böhm. Spitta is recorded as having seen a manuscript in which the piece is signed by Böhm, though he still plumped for Pachelbel.³⁰ Despite its uncertain provenance it is a fine work. I have placed it here *fault de mieux*. Since it is reasonably certain that it is not by Pachelbel, it hardly upsets the classification.

4.12 Type IX – North-German decorated type

Wir glauben all' an einen Gott (DTB 66)

As has already been said, *Wir glauben all' an einen Gott* (DTB 66) is unique in Pachelbel's output, and was included in the *Etlicher Choräle* for completeness' sake.³¹ The decorated part is in the right hand and consists of a more-or-less unceasing stream of semiquavers. This is nevertheless broken up into the constituent chorale lines. The left-hand part is in two voices, rather chordal in the manner of an

²⁹ Sarber, 1983, p 20. Sarber calls this the 'only [...] example of a chorale motet.' Whether she makes this distinction on the grounds that the *cantus firmus* is not in augmentation, I do not know. This seems to be the only distinction, in broad formal terms, between this work and the many other settings that introduce each line of the chorale with a fugal exposition in the manner of a Walter chorale motet.

³⁰ Spitta, *J. S. Bach*, I, 202, *Anm.*, cited in Seiffert 1903, p XX.

³¹ Matthaei, in the Preface to his edition, (Vol. III), says, 'Closer examination [of the contents of the *Etlicher Choräle*] reveals that these pieces include almost all the possibilities of outward design and variety of expression of the period'. Bärenreiter Ed 287, Preface.

early Italian toccata,³² which indeed the whole piece resembles. There is quite consistent fore-imitation after the first line (which comes in unheralded by anything other than a semiquaver rest over a tonic chord), but the point of the fore-imitation is lost rather since the shape of the following chorale line is so submerged by the figuration that the imitation is obscured. The overall result is far removed from anything that might have been written by Buxtehude, who utilised in his decorated *cantus firmus* settings operatic vocal ornamentation, and these in relative moderation. Pachelbel's ornamentation is more akin to the instrumental figuration taken over by Sweelinck from the English virginalists.

The piece does not get a good press. Nolte concurs with Seiffert's opinion that Pachelbel did a much better job with this kind of piece in the partitas, and that this 'organ piece seems....stiff and austere'.³³ Dietrich fails to mention it at all, while nevertheless discussing Pachelbel's ornamentation in the chorale partitas. Nevertheless I think that the piece, although different in style from anything else Pachelbel wrote, is in no way of a lesser quality.

4.13 Were the 'combination-type' chorales originally joined together? A conclusion

In conclusion an important amplification needs to be made to the earlier observations concerning certain 'combination-type' organ chorales having come down to us separated into their respective parts. This fact raises the question as to whether separate chorale fuguetas were ever written, and whether all the ones we have are just fragments of larger works. A less controversial point would be whether those few examples of accompaniment-type *cantus-firmus* settings that start without any preamble are also just fragments bereft of their introductory chorale fuguetas.

Eight 'combination-type' chorales have been transmitted both in a fragmentary state, and as a unity. They are:

³² I have in mind the music of Cavazzoni rather than Frescobaldi. Many a page of the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book looks not unlike this chorale also.

³³ Nolte (Nolte 1954, p 169) quotes from Seiffert 1903, p XIII: '*Das Orgelstück erscheint [... ..] steif und spröde.*'

- *Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder*, DTB 4, complete in D-B MS P.806 (and others); the chorale section only in both R-Kau MS 15839 and D-B Mus.MS 30245.
- *Ach wie elend ist unsre Zeit*, DTB 5, chorale fughetta only, in D-Bseiffert MS. Pa.398; complete in D-Bseiffert [o. Sig]; the chorale only in N-DHgm MS 4.G.14.
- *An Wasserflüssen Babylon*, DTB 10, complete in D-Bseiffert [o.Sig]; chorale only in D-B Mus.MS 30245, D-PL MS III.B.a.No:4, N-DHgm MS 4.G.14 and R-Kau MS 15839.
- *Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht*, DTB 12, chorale fughetta only in R-Kau MS 15839; complete (as BWV 1096) in US-NH L. M. Codex 4708.
- *Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt*, DTB 22, chorale only in D-B Mus. MS 30245; complete in D-B MS P.806 and D-Bseiffert ohne Sig., pp 96-97.
- *Es spricht den Unweisen Mund wohl*, DTB 27, chorale only in D-Pl MS III.B.a.No:4, and D-B Mus. MS 30245; each part separately in R-Kau MS 15839; as a unity in N-DHgm MS 4.G.14 and D-B MS P.806.
- *Warum betrübst du dich, mein Herz*, DTB 60, each part separately in R-Kau MS 15839; complete in N-DHgm MS 4.G.14.
- *Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält*, DTB 69, chorale only in D-B Mus. MS 30245; complete in D-Bseiffert [o. Sig], N-DHgm MS 4.G.14 and D-B MS P.806.

In addition to these separate transmissions there are two chorales where only the chorale section has been preserved:

- *Was mein Gott will*, previously attributed to J. M. Bach, preserved in US-NH L.M. Codex 4708.
- *Erbarm dich mein, O Herre Gott*, DTB 24, preserved in R-Kau MS 15839.

Seiffert also sees *Allein zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ*, (DTB 24) as a fragment, though I think he is mistaken in this.

Many of the chorale fughettas could be thought to be fragments, but I point out some that Seiffert particularly so considers:

- an incipit for a chorale fughetta on *Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein* in Ritter's papers.³⁴
- *Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht*, DTB 12.
- *Der Herr is mein getreuer Hirt*, DTB 16 and 17.
- *Es woll' uns Gott genädig sein*, DTB 28.
- *In dich hab' ich gehoffet, Herr*, DTB 39 (the two different endings given in differing manuscripts suggest some rewriting).

As well as these, there is the unique case of a chorale fughetta and a chorale setting of the same chorale that have, however, been known to us for a century as one piece, that is *O Lamm Gottes unschuldig*, DTB 53. In fact, as has already been said, this piece is transmitted as two separate elements; the chorale fughetta in D-Bseiffert Pa.398 (though Seiffert gives his source as Weimar 1704, which he never saw, and in which it appears only in a bowdlerised version; nevertheless, he must have got his text from somewhere, Ritter's papers, presumably, [D-Bseiffert]); the chorale alone in Pl-Kj Mus.MS 40035.

Seiffert's joining together of the last two items cited, which he admits to in his critical commentary, is instructive. His supposition is that the two elements, chorale fughetta and *cantus-firmus* setting, belonged together originally, but had for various reasons become separated. Seiffert would have liked to have joined them in the manner in which chorale fughetta and chorale setting are seamlessly woven together in Pachelbel's other combination-type chorales, but he was perhaps not bold enough to do so in the main text, relegating his suggestion for such a transition to the critical commentary. In the text he merely prints the chorale fughetta and chorale setting one after the other. This juxtaposition is musically very effective; when the chorale comes in after the full close at the end of the fughetta there is an overwhelming feeling that the congregation should join in. This lack of a join is, however, something unique to Pachelbel's oeuvre, and is probably quite inauthentic. If indeed the two pieces really belonged together at one time, they must have been joined in a

³⁴ Seiffert 1903, p XVII, where it is stated that this [very promising] opening is indeed a fragment quoted by Richter as coming from Spitta's inheritance, but that Seiffert could not find the complete piece. Nevertheless, the piece exists complete in D-Bhm 1491; I give it in Appendix 4, p 387, along with a fughetta on *Wir glauben* from the same manuscript.

similar fashion to that which Seiffert suggests in his critical commentary.³⁵

Seiffert's view of this situation stems from his ideas about the purpose of Pachelbel's combination-type chorales. He sees these chorales as having been written for one purpose only; Pachelbel's end-of-year examination recital. I vouchsafe no opinion here as to whether he is correct in this; but his view is that the pieces so constituted were useless for any other purpose. This is why (in Seiffert's view) Pachelbel had neither predecessors nor successors with this unique-to-him yet significant form. This, Seiffert claims, is also why these pieces were dismembered in their manuscript transmission.³⁶ Seiffert blames Walther for this dismemberment, deploring the fact that 'even such a considerable connoisseur of the literature and virtuoso as J. G. Walther, besides being a sincere admirer of Pachelbel's and a friend of his son Hieronymus, whom he visited in Nürnberg in 1706, succumbed to this act of vandalism for practical reasons'.³⁷ Seiffert's intention in joining together the two separate halves of *O Lamm Gottes* is to undo Walther's act of vandalism.

Joelson-Strohbach's suppositions regarding this matter are quite the opposite. He provocatively suggests that all the elements that go to make up the combination-type chorales were originally separate, and that they were joined together by Walther.³⁸ He makes Walther the 'inventor' of the combination-type chorale,³⁹ and suggests that Walther, in his last manuscript [N-DHgm MS 4.G.14, the Scheurleer manuscript] joined together chorale fughetts and chorale sections based on the same chorale that had been transmitted separately. He believes this to be the final step in a process that

³⁵ *Ibid*, p XXII.

³⁶ *Ibid*, p XV.

³⁷ 'Selbst ein gediegener Literaturkenner und Virtuos, wie J. G. Walther, zudem ein aufrichtiger Verehrer Pachelbels und Freund des Sohnes Hieronymus, den er 1706 in Nürnberg besuchte, ist der Praxis zuliebe diesem Barbarismus verfallen.' Seiffert 1903, p XV. It must be said that Seiffert is the only commentator to advance this view, and there is no real evidence to support his thesis.

³⁸ Perreault (Perreault 2004, p 17) translates Joelson-Strohbach's note in Joelson-Strohbach 1987, p 6: 'In contrast to the other sources, in [N-DHbm Ms 4. G. 14] the fughetta and the chorale are transmitted together as *one* work, a structure that has parallels in Pachelbel's other *Choralbearbeitungen*....Does this compound structure – fughetta and chorale together, as often in Pachelbel's *Choralbearbeitungen* – have its source in Walther's copying habits? [In his own works] Walther often brought independent chorale preludes together to make a chorale-partita, and other interferences with the text of his sources (when he is copying rather than composing) are frequent.....it is possible that all these *Choralbearbeitungen* with fughetta and chorale have their source in Walther's tampering with the text....thus I should not speak about a 'normal' sequence, but regard Walther's transmission as a compilation of two independent works.' [This quotation is actually not to be found in Joelson-Strohbach 1987, which has no page 6; Perreault perhaps mistook it for a passage in JSV, as his entry in the Bibliography of Perreault 2004, p 396, would suggest.]

³⁹ See Perreault 2004, p 301, where Perreault says that in a personal letter from Joelson-Strohbach to himself he is informed that a soon-to-be-published thesis will champion this idea.

was started in the earlier Königsberg [R-Kau MS 15839] manuscript.⁴⁰ Joelson-Strohbach writes: ‘K [by which he means Königsberg] offers the chorale and, on the opposite page[s], gives an [independent version] of the introductory fugue that has no final chord, but leads directly into the chorale. Only in G [by which he means Scheurleer] does Walther go the whole way and fuse the two elements completely.’⁴¹

Elucidation of this requires one to know that the chorale in question is *Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl*, DTB 27, as written on pages 67 and 68 of the Königsberg manuscript (See plates 11 and 12, pp 157-158). The chorale section, which occurs joined to the ‘introductory’ fugue in the Scheurleer manuscript in the manner printed in the DTB edition, is in the Königsberg manuscript presented first. It starts promptly with the first note of the chorale. Joelson-Strohbach maintains that this is a free-standing piece, and that the following (in the manuscript, that is) fughetta is also a free-standing piece that was seen as an introductory fugue to the chorale, but not to this setting, just to a simple statement of the chorale in crotchets, the first three notes of which are presented in the manuscript, labelled ‘Ch’, before breaking off with the instruction &c.. The inference is that this version was used to introduce a congregational performance of the chorale that would have been sung at twice the speed of the preceding *Bearbeitung*. Joelson-Strohbach thus thinks that the two pieces are completely independent of each other, but that Walther was responsible, in the Scheurleer manuscript, for joining them together.

Obviously Seiffert and Joelson-Strohbach cannot both be correct concerning Walther’s supposed behaviour. If the situation in the Königsberg manuscript, where chorale fughetts and chorale settings of the same chorale are to be found separately, is seen as a step from Joelson-Strohbach’s scenario of all the parts having started life as separate entities, (and if the Königsberg is indeed an earlier MS than the Scheurleer), then Walther is guilty as accused by Joelson-Strohbach. If on the other hand the Königsberg manuscript is a step on the way from the original unities to

⁴⁰ Joelson-Strohbach, on internal evidence, constructs a chain of transmission. First the printed editions and the manuscripts used to set up the prints, then the *Plauener Orgelbuch*, then Walther’s manuscripts, the Königsberg one first, then the Scheurleer. I have seen his notes [JSV], but do not have access to a copy.

⁴¹ Joelson-Strohbach, JSV, p 8, quoted in Perreault 2004, p 79: ‘K [by which he means R-Kau] bietet Choral, dann den Anfang auf gegenüberliegenden Seiten, wobei am Ende [d]er Einleitungsfuge kein Schlussakkord, sondern ein Übergang zum Choral geboten wird; gänzlich vereinigt Walther die zwei Teile erst in G [he means N-DHgm].’]

fragmentation, then Walther might be the restorer of damaged masterpieces; he might have been doing what Seiffert tried to do. Equally, there might be no sequence between the manuscripts, and Walther was 'merely' copying down in Scheurleer what stood before him; in neither of these two last cases could he also have been responsible for the dismemberment of which Seiffert accuses him.⁴²

I think it likely that Joelson-Strohbach's fundamental position in seeing all the parts that make up the combination settings as having started life as separate entities is wrong, chiefly because of the musical effectiveness, already referred to, of the chorale setting emerging from the preceding chorale fughetta, and because of the sheer number of examples found (also in manuscripts that had nothing to do with Walther) where the chorales have been preserved as a unity (which is not to say that some other pieces did not exist at some time as separate fughetts and separate chorales). But Joelson-Strohbach's description of what Walther did is very possibly correct. Seiffert's fundamental position, on the other hand, is correct (i. e. that most of the pieces started life as combinations of fughetta and chorale), though to suppose that it was Walther who was responsible for the fragmentation, even if Seiffert is

⁴² Seiffert, however, points out that Walther did rewrite pieces. Sometimes his motives were purely practical. There are two examples in Seiffert's critical commentary where he quotes passages rewritten by Walther, probably because of a local variation in the melody used ['... , wohl einer örtlichen Choralvariante zuliebe: ']. They are *Gott der Vater wohn uns bei* (p XXI) and *Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist* (p XXIII). This last varied reading is printed in Matthaëi's edition (III, p 82), presumably because it corresponds with the more-frequently used version of the chorale melody. At other times Walther recomposes works more extensively. Seiffert quotes complete Walther's reworking (this is the only word for it) of *Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot* (Seiffert 1903, pp XIX-XX). He comments there that Walther did the same thing to Buxtehude's music. I wonder whether this last a) is true, and b) if so, whether it is generally known, and has any bearing on the multiple readings of that composer's organ works.

This type of 'recomposition' was commonplace before ideas of 'intellectual property' were fully developed; Bach's reworking of other music is but the most sublime example of this practice. But there are other considerations in play here. Had no other source of works that Walther 'altered' except his copy survived (as perhaps with *Herr Jesu Christ, ich weiß gar wohl*) we might feel that we had lost the chance of hearing the 'original' (which might well be significantly different from what we now know), or that we had been duped into thinking that Walther had written a piece that was actually by Pachelbel. While indeed the 'rewritten' version might be valid, might even be an 'improvement' on the 'original', perhaps it needs to be seen as something different, valid on its own terms. We certainly celebrate what Bach (or Handel) made out of other men's music, while not denigrating their sources if these are known (indeed sometimes criticising Bach especially for missing the essence of what Vivaldi wrote). While variant versions of the same work by the composer might convey the essence of the piece despite unimportant textual discrepancies, they would still be the work of that composer; this might well not be the case when the variant version comes from another composer. The 'variant' might in that case be another piece of music by another composer; while this is not to be deprecated in itself, if it obscures our view of the original (as Walther's versions of Buxtehude's music perhaps do), then we can concur with Joelsen-Strohbach in describing these alterations as 'interferences with the text of his sources'.

67. Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl

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Plate 11 Manuscript of Pachelbel's *Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl* (DTB 27), R-Kau MS 15839, p 67, shows the chorale only of the combination organ chorale.

(By kind permission of Bibliotheken Winterthur)



Plate 12 Manuscript of continuation of the chorale section of Pachelbel's *Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl* (DTB 27), R-Kau MS 15893, p 68, along with the chorale fughetta as a separate piece leading straight in to a performance of the chorale in crotchets. (By kind permission of Bibliotheken Winterthur)

right in suggesting cogent reason why this process might in general have taken place, is absurd. Would Walther have ‘dismembered’ the piece to copy it in to the Königsberg manuscript in bits (the act of vandalism), then had a fit of conscience and stuck it back together for the Scheurleer manuscript (restoring a damaged masterpiece)? It is possible to imagine steps involving an unknown copy between the original and the *Plauener Orgelbuch* (in which the chorale by itself appears, but not the fughetta); at the point of copying of either of these (the unknown copy or the *Plauener*) the dismemberment might have taken place; then might have come the transmission of the chorale from the *Plauener Orgelbuch* to the Königsberg manuscript, picking up the dismembered fughetta on the way from some other source, these being written in the Königsberg manuscript together because the settings were of the same chorale; finally the two might have been reunited in the Scheurleer manuscript.

If all the combination-type chorales had started life as separate elements, then there would be many more examples in the manuscripts of separated ‘pairs’ that could be joined together, but these pairs would have been found in different sources. That only one other ‘pair’, *O Lamm Gottes*, has surfaced in separate manuscripts is surely far too low a tally if everything had started life as separate items.

The evidence for some of the chorale fughetts’ being fragments that the discovery of the ‘missing’ completion of the piece, or a complete version of it, provides, provokes the question as to whether most of the chorale fughetts are fragments, (though Pachelbel did himself print a self-standing example in *Ellicher Choräle*), and whether there are a largish number of ‘missing’ chorale settings that once belonged to these chorale fughetts. If this were so, then it would further confirm Seiffert’s suggestion that a process of dismemberment had indeed taken place. The large number of fragmentary transmissions of works also transmitted complete also testifies to this. The ‘incomplete’ chorale settings of *O Lamm Gottes*, *Erbarm dich mein*, (DTB 24) and *Was mein Gott will* (Carus p 60) further reinforce the idea; there are no other similar chorale settings that start with the *cantus firmus* promptly right at the beginning. Again this tally is too low to convince me that pieces of this kind started life as separate units. That such an overwhelming preponderance of surviving

examples of the genre have an introductory fughetta must both confirm that the original state of all was one of con-joinedness, and also that these separate examples are fragments, possibly ‘doctored’ to be playable without the preceding fughetta, as obviously (*pace* Seiffert), so many of the chorale fughettas were doctored to end without the following chorale setting.

This concludes my classification of Pachelbel’s organ chorales. The chorale partitas should by rights also fall into the categorisation. Many of the movements of the partitas fit into these categories; all are either simple accompaniment-style pieces (indeed so simple that they are mere harmonisations of the melody rather than settings), or are two- or three-part partita-type pieces. What sets them apart formally from their ‘sacred’ counterparts, however, is their lack of any fore-imitation, and their often highly decorated melodic lines. These features stem perhaps from their intended purpose, of which it can be said that it seems unlikely to have been liturgical. The lack of fore-imitation would make them very difficult to introduce in a service. Decorated *cantus firmi* are not in themselves unknown in liturgical pieces, but it seems almost certain that Pachelbel deliberately refrained from writing them in chorales to be used in church, following Scheidt’s dictum of allowing the chorale melody to be heard clearly. Many passages in the partitas remind one of harpsichord figuration rather than an organ style, even though they can be played on the organ,⁴³ and the presence of dance movements (*giga*) suggests strongly that they were not for church use. The melodies on which they are based, while mostly available in Nbg1690, were all of recent provenance, and are not represented in Pachelbel’s output outside the partitas (except for *Herzlich thut mich verlangen*, which is nevertheless a secular song). My view is that the partitas were written to be played in the home, for ‘*Ergötzung*’ [amusement].⁴⁴ I shall, however, return to them when analysing certain aspects of Pachelbel’s style in more detail.

⁴³ *Stile brisé*; rapid passagework, both scalar and arpeggiated Alberti-like figurations; ornamentation; dance measures (often *giga*); and a large number of *bicinia*, are elements very suggestive of a plucked-string-instrument style. One of the partitas, however, contains a final movement that is only playable using pedals, even though this piece is the most ‘harpsichord-like’ in style of the whole set. Maybe this final movement was added later, or maybe Pachelbel had pedals at home.

⁴⁴ *Musicalische Ergötzung* is the title of a set of partitas for strings published in Nürnberg by Pachelbel some time after 1699.

Chapter 5

Some aspects of style in Pachelbel's organ chorales

5.1 Introduction

J. G. Walther was a renowned theorist as well as a significant composer. In recommending to organists that they should be thoroughly conversant with the church modes, he was recognising that, in that branch of music where the chorale was dominant, an older style was in use than elsewhere.¹ Whereas secular instrumental music by his time was completely suffused with the Baroque ethos, much church music, particularly organ music based on the chorale melodies, still evinced an older style, the style that had been the common currency when the chorale melodies were first created early in the sixteenth century.²

Pachelbel was in many ways a thoroughly modern composer. Nevertheless this dichotomy between the Baroque and the remains of the *stile antico* style can be seen clearly when comparing his organ chorales with the rest of his output. Indeed, the divide between the style of the organ chorales and that of the chorale partitas (which furthermore are based on tunes written at more or less the same time as the partitas themselves) is illustrative of that divide, but within the genre of the chorale setting. It is this conflict of styles that inspired Perreault to research the Pachelbel oeuvre;³ but while Walther's and Perreault's interest focussed on the question of modes, this

¹ Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musikalisches LEXIKON oder musikalische Bibliothek*. Kassel u. Basel (original 1732), 1953, p 409, for the article on Modus Musicus. Harold S. Powers/Frans Weiring, 'Mode I-III', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 2nd Edition*, ed. S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, London, Macmillan, 2001, Volume XVI, pp 775-823, p 819, gives an English translation of the relevant passage.

² J. Lester, *Major-Minor Concepts and Modal Theory in Germany, 1592-1680*, in *JAMS*, xxx, (1977), p 252, where Lester's overall conclusion is that it was the use of the chorale that was the cause of the continuing use of the modes in Germany in the general musical language. On page 229 he concludes that, in contrast, in France and Italy the use of modal plainsong melodies was a conscious archaism.

³ Perreault 2004, p 348.

dichotomy goes far wider. Nolte recognised this when in his summary he elucidated those features in Pachelbel's music that are forward-looking and those that are backward.⁴ Murata,⁵ in her introduction to an excerpt from Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, also characterises the age as one of 'many conflicts between "ancients" and "moderns" '.

I shall analyse a number of features of Pachelbel's organ chorales with the question in mind as to whether a given feature is 'modern' or 'antique'. To say 'Baroque' or 'Renaissance' would be misleading, even though the immediate experience (both our own and theirs) of the music often presents itself in those terms. Many of the antique features have a history that goes back to before the Renaissance, while some of the techniques anticipate those of the Classical period, but a few years away at the time of Pachelbel's death, and although the style that Pachelbel utilised in his organ chorales is indeed in many aspects archaic, in other ways these works are precursors of later styles.

In order to answer this question I shall examine the areas of:

- modality and tonality;
- the treatment of dissonance;
- part-writing and voice-leading; the continuo;
- the influence of the string writing of Corelli on Pachelbel's style;

⁴ Nolte 1954. In his final chapter Nolte summarises as follows: In his view Pachelbel was a Renaissance composer in:

- his adherence to restraint and noble simplicity
- his 'seeing music as a self-contained autonomous art, subject only to its own laws' [quotation from Bukofzer 1948, p. 8]
- the vocal basis of his melodic invention
- that exchange of idioms is not utilised
- his use of strict voice-leading

He was a Baroque composer in:

- his treatment of dissonance
- his use of the principle of the continuo
- the dominance of the outer voices
- his use of the major/minor system
- his use of the tactus
- his development of musical forms, especially fugue

⁵ Margaret Murata, *Strunk's Source Readings in Music History: Volume 4, The Baroque Era*, New York/London, 1998, p 188.

- *Figurenlehre* and *Affektenlehre*, and the question of whether a piece of music is sufficient unto itself, or is trying to express something extra-musical;
- the traditions of the treatment of a *cantus firmus* and the extent that Pachelbel's organ chorales are influenced by earlier techniques;
- the relationship between Pachelbel's organ chorales and his chorale partitas.

The question will be: in what ways do Pachelbel's organ chorales exhibit those traits that were giving music a modern feel, and in what ways do they still retain the antique?

5.2 Modality and tonality

Pachelbel is perceived as having lived in a period of changing perceptions of tonality. This is apparent to us because the crucial change taking place during his lifetime was from the modal system to modern major/minor tonality. But this impression of being on the edge is an illusion; major/minor tonality had by 1700 long been in use *de facto* in certain types of music, while in others modality was still influential; Rameau's definitive work which as it were crystallised the situation was still years in the future.⁶ It can also be said that all ages are ages of transition. Even considering modality in isolation, the system created in the Middle Ages had been transformed in the later Renaissance. Recognition of the existence of the four extra modes (Aeolian/Hypoaolian, Ionian/Hypoionian) by Glarean's reconstituting of the system (in his *Dodekachordon*, published 1547) was acknowledging a reality; the extra modes are those that turned into the major and minor scales.⁷

The keys that Pachelbel chose for his organ-chorale settings show a close correspondence with the pitches proper to the modes in which the melodies were written. Presumably transposition (in the sense of singing at a different 'absolute'⁸ pitch from that written) had always been used as a practical measure to accommodate

⁶ J. P. Rameau, *Trâite d'Harmonie*, 1722.

⁷ Carter (in Carter and Butt 2005, pp 171 foll.) discusses this transition.

⁸ 'Absolute' pitch of course varied widely from place to place and time to time.

the vocal range of the singers.⁹ But in another sense the transposition of the original four pairs of modes on D, E, F and G had been restricted to up a fourth, with a B flat added, E flat then being introduced into the system as a fundamental note rather than as an accidental to accommodate the transposed Lydian mode. If we include the notes that the practices of *musica ficta* required (C sharp, F sharp and G sharp), then the notes that were available on the organ were exactly those notes that were used in notating the *stile antico* vocal repertoire in the eight original modes; the quarter-comma-meantone temperament, still in use in many places until Pachelbel's day,¹⁰ would have restricted the organ more or less to playing in the keys that used those

⁹ Carter sees 'Renaissance Modes' as being non-key specific (Carter and Butt 2005, p 170); but composers would presumably have chosen whether to use a transposed mode or not with some consideration for the relationship between the absolute pitches involved and the compass of the voices. If instruments were used in vocal performance the exact key must have become important. Even so, organists were doubtless required to transpose, even if this could only have been done within the limits that the temperament of the instrument would have allowed. Nevertheless, this type of practical transposition may have been a powerful factor in the transition from mode to tonality; the tones used in the writing of a piece came to be considered as a transposable pattern rather than a specified collection of pitches. While Glarean (*Dodekachordon*, Basel, 1547) includes only the transposition of the modes up a fourth, Zarlino accepts that more flexible transposition is necessary to accommodate singers to instrumentalists, and incorporates this practice into his theory. Lester 1977, p 213.

German theorists were into the seventeenth century still specifying the basic transpositions (down a fourth for modes using B flat 'on account of an organ thus too high', upwards a fourth 'out of the hard C hexachord into the previous flat, soft hexachord' but also 'a fifth or Quint higher into the hard hexachord on Aif....a song is too low on account of lute, harp, instrument etc,'). (Quitschreiber 1607). M. Praetorius also recommends transposing from one hexachord to the other in either direction (i. e. down a fourth or fifth), but also had some organ stops tuned down a tone or semitone so that practical 'absolute' transpositions that would have been impossible because of temperament could have been used. Butt 1994. pp104-105.

Bartels (in Bartels 1989, p 155) gives a very detailed discussion of transposition practices, saying that the practice was usual and widespread. He cites sundry authorities as to the reasons for this; it was done chiefly to accommodate the singers, though sometimes to make things more appropriate for the instrumentalists; he points out that the limitations in playing chromatic notes on some instruments meant that the possibilities for transposition were nevertheless limited. It was common to transpose using clef substitution.

¹⁰ By Pachelbel's time quarter-comma meantone temperament was considered by some to be old-fashioned. Trost, in *Ausführliche Beschreibung des neuen Orgelwerks...zu Weissenfels* (Nürnberg, 1667) emphasises that to play music written in the preceding 50 years (i.e. from the time of the death of Sweelinck to that of Scheidt [1667]), music characterised by 'a mixture of diatonic, chromatic and enharmonic' [*genuses*], a tuning was required that involved tempering. 'Therefore no thirds or fifths can remain pure.' (Trost 1667, p 39, cited in Jackisch 1966, p 203) Trost gives very detailed instructions as to whether each interval should be tuned sharp or flat, and by how many beats (Trost 1677, p 39, cited in Jackisch 1966, p 204). Jackisch (*ibid*, p 203) is mistaken to see this as an advocacy of equal temperament, however. Even so, Preuss (in *Grundregeln*, Hamburg, 1729) complains about the continued use of what he calls Praetorian temperament in Hamburg, and as late as 1756 Fabricius, in *Unterricht, wie man ein neu Orgelwerk ...auswendig examinieren....und probieren soll* (Frankfurt u. Leipzig, 1756, pp 64-75, cited in Jackisch 1966, pp 205-207), is still recommending meantone tuning. The advance of tempered tuning was uneven and gradual. I think it reasonable to assume that quarter-comma meantone temperament was the tuning with which Pachelbel worked, certainly earlier in his life.

notes. The chorales themselves were mostly notated at the specified pitches proper to their modes, and would perhaps generally have been sung at these pitches (any transpositions on the organ would, again for reasons of temperament, have been restricted to this circle of keys); it is therefore unsurprising that the keys of Pachelbel's organ chorales should correspond to the keys of the chorale melodies. There is only one Pachelbel organ chorale in B flat major (*Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl* (DTB 27, chorale normally in C major). This piece uses A flat, not normally available on a keyboard instrument if G sharp was in use. Otherwise for Pachelbel the note E flat is the flatward limit, which note is often found in the large number of chorales in F major (transposed Ionian, or Lydian). G major is used for the Mixolydian modes, C major for transposed Mixolydian, or Ionian. D minor with no B flat, and G minor with no E flat (Dorian and transposed Dorian) are also commonly used keys. A minor and E minor, the latter often with no F sharps and usually with no D sharps, accommodated Phrygian melodies.¹¹

The use of D and G majors for unambiguously major-key/Ionian pieces reflects the fact of transposition as a practical necessity. This practice, which became usual even in the Roman Catholic Church, where there was much more modally dominated musical practice than in the Lutheran church, was one of the factors leading to the eventual hegemony of the major/minor system.¹² But while many examples of Pachelbel's use of G major are the result of transposition of the tune from F major, another factor in the use of G major in the organ chorales was the fact that composers wrote chorales (by which I mean original hymn tunes rather than organ chorales) in this key (see Table 5.1 on page 167 for a list of the keys in which the chorale melodies in *Erf1663* that Pachelbel set were written). The D major of the chorales on *Vom Himmel hoch* (DTB 56 and 57) and *Ein' feste Burg* (DTB 23), however, shows an extreme case of transposition for convenience at work. While it seems unthinkable

¹¹ This refers only to the organ chorales. In the free organ music Pachelbel is more adventurous, reaching the keys of F-sharp minor and F minor.

¹² Carter (Carter and Butt 2005, p 174) draws attention to the difference between mode and system. System (*durus, naturalis, mollis*) involved the addition/subtraction of sharps/flats, which caused the transposition (in a key-specific sense) of any mode. The keys of G major and D major lay outside the limits of the normally used keys, but such keys were available on mean-tone tuned instruments. Carter maintains that it was this transposition that gave rise to tonality, rather than the use of the Ionian or Aeolian modes. Zarlino's attempt to expand the modal palette to twelve modes was an *ex post facto* exercise, that many believed flawed, since it undermined completely the 5th species as a determining factor of mode; if this factor is seen as determining, then, since there are only four possible species of 5th, there are only eight possible modes.

now that these melodies could have been in any other key, they were originally written in transposed Ionian in F major, strong evidence that the original settings (now lost) must have been for choir. F major is an impossibly high key for a congregation to sing these tunes in. D major, though still high, especially given *hoher Chorton*,¹³ and though it lay outside the ambit of legitimate modal transpositions, was available on the organ. These three organ chorales are the only chorales in D major by Pachelbel.

While the tuning of Pachelbel's organs would have limited the keys he could use, the expanding harmonic palette nevertheless put a strain on the tuning system even while using just these keys. My view is that Pachelbel, at Erfurt at least, would have had a tuning that allowed him to use E flat and G sharp, but not normally A flat or D sharp: the frequency of use of E flat in the many organ chorales in F Ionian or Lydian, G Dorian and even D Dorian suggests that this note was the accepted note for this key (i. e. physical key on the organ). E flat occurs in five out of the seven organ chorales in F major, in all thirteen of those in G minor, and even appears in one in D minor, as well as in the one in B-flat major. D sharp occurs much less frequently. There are only nine organ chorales in E minor, two of which are by J. M. Bach.¹⁴ D sharp does not occur at all in two of these; in the others it is used, but only as a passing note or for a particularly telling dissonance. Where it occurs in chorales in D major (four) and G major (one), it occurs again either as a passing note or for a

¹³ *Hoher Chorton* is the pitch, almost a minor third higher than A = 440 (A = 510), in which organs in north Germany were tuned until the later nineteenth century. Churches (such as Lübeck's *Marienkirche*) had orchestral instruments made at this high pitch so that these could be used with the organ, while organs often had just one or two stops tuned to a lower pitch for continuo work. *Kammerton*, in north and south-central Germany, in use for chamber music, was rather lower than A = 440, though not as low as the almost-standard A = 415 in use in many other places. Although organs were not tuned to *Hoher Chorton* in south-central Germany, there was nevertheless a pitch in use there that was a semitone or so higher than A = 440, called *Chorton*; Mittag defines it as 'a second higher than *Kammerton* [Johann Gottfried Mittag, *Historische Abhandlung*, Lüneberg, 1756, cited in Jackisch 1966, p 210]. J. S. Bach, for instance, required his orchestra at Weimar to accommodate a higher organ pitch by making the woodwind transpose their parts and having the strings tune up to it. He treated the organ in the *Thomaskirche* as a transposing instrument (and played the organ part of the *Sinfonia* to Cantata 29 in D-flat major!). Some commentators, however, (Vogel among others) believe that the existence of some north-German organ works both in the keys of C and E (works by Bach and Lübeck) is evidence that they were deliberately transposed so as to sound at a similar pitch when played in south-central Germany to that in which they would have sounded in the original C major in north Germany. Christopher Kent, in *Temperament and Pitch*, Chapter 4 of Nicholas Thistlethwaite and Geoffrey Webber (editors), *The Cambridge Companion to the Organ*, Cambridge, 1998, pp 51-54, presents short discussions of the issue.

¹⁴ Interestingly enough, the only chorale in B minor (*Gott hat das Evangelium*, DTB 32) is also by J. M. Bach, though in the Carus edition of his works it appears in G minor.

particularly acute dissonance.

There is no ambiguity about the almost exclusive use of G sharp, there being only one chorale in which A flat is used. A sharp does occur in one chorale. I suggest that Pachelbel used the acuteness of the tuning of D sharp/E flat for expressive purposes. *Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund* (DTB 15) uses frequently a chromatically descending figure, often involving D sharp, perhaps to illustrate *stund* (meaning ‘hung’). In the nexus of keys around A minor /Phrygian, where D sharp is harmonically important and thus occurs in the normal warp and woof of the texture, (as in the settings of *Ach Herr, ich armer Sünder* [DTB 3 and 4] and *Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein* [DTB 1 and 2]), the text is particularly anguished. I shall show later that the harmony in these pieces is particularly daring in the service of the meaning of the words, and the fact that much of this harmony involves D sharp must have intensified its effect.

Table 5.1

The pitches in which the hymn tunes in Erf1663 were written, compared with the keys used in Pachelbel’s organ chorales (Pachelbel’s key in brackets).

<i>Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein</i>	B Phrygian	(A/B Phrygian)
<i>Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder</i>	C major	(C major)
<i>Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr</i>	G major	(G major)
<i>Allein zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ</i>	C major	(C/B-flat major)
<i>An Wasserflüssen Babylon</i>	G major	(G major)
<i>Auf meinen lieben Gott = Wo soll ich fliehen</i>	not given	(E Phrygian)
<i>Ach wie elend ist unsre Zeit = Aus tiefer Not</i>	F major	(G major)
<i>Christe qui es lux</i>	G minor	(A minor)
<i>Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht</i>	A minor	(A minor)
<i>Christ lag in Todesbanden</i>	D minor	(D minor)
<i>Christus, der ist mein Leben</i>	F major	(G major)
<i>Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam</i>	D minor	(D minor)
<i>Derr Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt</i>	G minor	(G minor)
<i>Der Tag, der ist so freudenreich</i>	G major	(G major)
<i>Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund</i>	B Phrygian	(B Phrygian)
<i>Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot</i>	C major	(C major)
<i>Durch Adams Fall</i>	D minor	(D minor)
<i>Ein' feste Burg</i>	F major	(D major)
<i>Erbarm dich mein, O Herre Gott</i>	E Phrygian	(E Phrygian)
<i>Erhalt uns, Herr,</i>	G minor	(G minor)
<i>Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl</i>	C major	(B-flat major)
<i>Es woll' uns Gott g'nädig sein</i>	B Phrygian	(B Phrygian)
<i>Freu dich sehr, O meine Seele</i>	C major	(G major)

<i>Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ</i>	G major	(G major)
<i>Gott der Vater, wohn' uns bei</i>	C major	(D major)
<i>Gott Vater, der du deine Sonn'</i>	G minor	(G minor)
<i>Gott hat das Evangelium</i>	A minor	(B minor)
<i>Herr Christ, der einige Gottessohn</i>	F major	(G major)
<i>Herr Gott, dich loben alle wir</i>	F major	(G major)
<i>Herzlich thut mich verlangen</i>	C major	(C major)
<i>Herr Jesu Christ, ich weiß gar wohl</i>	G minor	(G minor)
<i>Ich hab' mein' Sach' Gott heimgestellt</i>	G minor	(G minor)
<i>Ich ruf' zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ</i>	D minor	(D minor)
<i>In dich hab' ich gehoffet, Herr</i>	F major	(F major)
<i>Jesus Christus unser Heiland, der den Tod</i>	G minor	(A minor)
<i>Jesus Christus unser Heiland, der von uns</i>	D minor	(D minor)
<i>Komm, Gott, Schöpfer, Heiliger Geist</i>	C major	(C major)
<i>Kommt her zu mir, spricht Gottes Sohn</i>	G minor	(G minor)
<i>Komm, Heiliger Geist, Herre Gott</i>	G major	(G major)
<i>Lob sey Gott in des Himmels Thron</i>	A minor	(E minor)
<i>Mag ich Unglück nicht widerstahn</i>	A minor	(A minor)
<i>Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein</i>	G major	(G major)
<i>Nun laßt uns Gott dem Herren</i>	F major	(G major)
<i>Nun lob, mein' Seel', den Herren</i>	F major	(C major)
<i>Nun komm der Heiden Heiland</i>	G minor	(A minor)
<i>O Lamm Gottes unschuldig</i>	F major	(F major)
<i>O Mensch, beweine dein' Sünde groß</i>	C major	(F major)
<i>Vater unser im Himmelreich</i>	D minor	(D minor)
<i>Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her</i>	C major	(D major)
<i>Warum betrübst du dich, mein Herz</i>	G minor	(G minor)
<i>Was mein Gott will, da gescheh' allzeit</i>	A minor	(A minor)
<i>Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist</i>	F major	(Different tune)
<i>Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein</i>	F major	(G major)
<i>Werde munter, mein Gemüte</i>	G major	(G major)
<i>Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern</i>	F major	(F major)
<i>Wir glauben all' an einen Gott</i>	D minor	(D minor)
<i>Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält</i>	G minor	(G minor)
<i>Wo Gott zum Haus nicht gibt sein' Gunst</i>	F major	(F major)

The chorale tunes that Pachelbel set were forged in the period just when the Aeolian and Ionian modes were being accepted into the system. While a chorale like *Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein* is considered to be in the antique-sounding Phrygian mode, the contemporaneous *Ein' feste Burg* by the same composer (Luther) is uncompromisingly in the major key, though called at the time the Ionian mode. Pachelbel's settings reflect some of this modal spectrum. To what extent and how genuinely I shall now analyse.

The most strikingly ‘modal’ pieces are undoubtedly those on melodies in the Phrygian mode. *Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund* (DTB 15) sets a chorale melody that is unambiguously in this mode. When the chorale is sung *choraliter* the character of this mode is apparent; a chorale fugue introducing the hymns should perhaps retain this flavour. Pachelbel succeeds in this by respecting the exigencies of the mode; since the melody has E for its final, and has a minor third as its third degree there is likely to be a feeling of E minor both in the melody itself and in any harmonisation. But since there is no F sharp, a dominant chord in E minor, B, is not possible, so the key of E minor cannot be presented unambiguously without introducing notes foreign to the mode. So in contrapuntal treatments in this mode cadences on to the dominant are not used. Instead cadences on to A and C (in ‘key’ E) are substituted. This happens in Pachelbel’s piece too. Although the whole is a continuous texture with no obvious cadence points, from time to time a key is established, but this is E minor only once and very much *en passant* (bars 44-45, immediately undermined by an interrupted cadence). The most frequent cadential formulae suggest rather A minor, until the end; there are cadences into A minor in bars 10-11, 16, 25-26, 31-32, 53-54, 57-58). The only other definitely established keys are D minor (bars 26-27, 32-33) and C major (bars 21-22). At the end the music subsides on to a pedal E, over which a ‘plagal’ cadence (i. e. chords of A minor to E major) happens. While the main body of the work respects the Phrygian mode, there are obviously compromises. Intermediate cadences are in fact modulations in the modern sense, modulations underpinned by perfect cadences. The proper ‘Phrygian cadence’ is a 6/3 on F followed by E major/minor. This is approached in the piece only once, at the end, but is subverted exactly where the final pedal starts, the E minor chord of the cadence being substituted with the plagal cadence; this is a compromise that seems almost a conventional formula in this mode. While we perceive all this as sounding very ‘modal’ because of the plagal cadence, and the 6/4 5/3 on the same bass note, whether it is really modality is questionable. The compromise it represents is between the demands of the mode and those of Baroque harmony. All that can be said is that the tune sung *choraliter* after this prelude does not sound harmonically out of place.

The two chorale fugues on *Es woll’ uns Gott g’nädig sein* (DTB 28 and 29), a

melody based on the same mode as that used in *Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund*, are also as rigorously Phrygian as possible. Again there are cadences on to A rather than B; the note D sharp occurs not at all in the first setting, but three times in the second, which, as its one-sharp key signature betrays, has more of the feeling of E minor about it than does the first. Again the plagal cadence is substituted at the end for the Phrygian cadence, which is nowhere to be found.

The compromises and inconsistencies of the situation are more vividly shown in the two settings of *Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein* (DTB 1 and 2). The first setting of this uncompromisingly Phrygian tune, a chorale fugue, is in D minor (rather than the usual E). Although the final of the melody is A, and the opening point is framed accordingly with the fugal answer starting on E, the fourth, bass, entry starts on D, necessitating an E flat; this 'transposition' remains in force until the end of the piece, though the final entry in the tenor is as at the beginning. Pachelbel has accepted the D-minor implications of the melody (despite its final being A) and written the piece in that key, ending with a plagal cadence on to D over a pedal point. However, there is a genuine Phrygian cadence on to the D where the pedal point starts, and the following (reiterated) plagal cadence is a decoration of this cadence. There is also a Phrygian cadence on to A in bar 25. But with the emphasis on descending sequences, and a striking chain of falling fifth modulations from bar 25, the whole piece has a very strong feeling of being tonal, and of being in D minor; it is the conflict between this D-minor harmony and the 'Phrygian' features that give it its 'modal' feeling.

This conflict is more extreme in the other setting of *Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein* (DTB 2). This combination-type setting presents the chorale starting on B, (which is the final), but treats the melody as though it were in E minor, both in the fughetta and in the chorale section, this latter even starting with a last inversion dominant-seventh chord in that key. The dominant-seventh chord, one of the most directional chords in major/minor harmony, is a destroyer of any modal feeling, and the subsequent harmonisation and modulation scheme reinforces the feeling of E minor. The *coup de grace* is an aborted Phrygian cadence at the end (bars 70-71 [34-35 of the chorale section]). Despite a striking 'Phrygian' cadence at the beginning of the final chorale line, the final cadence repeats the harmonic emphasis of the opening

of the chorale section. A cadence from a chord of A minor to B major would have been possible, from the ante-penultimate bar to the penultimate, but Pachelbel suspends the bass to form the 6/4/2 dominant seventh, driving the music to E minor, and it ends with a perfect cadence in that key. A further source of confusion is that the opening chorale fugue treats the tune as though it were on E, with the 'correct' answer on B and the final entry on E, all of which reinforces the idea that, despite the tune entering on B in the chorale sections, it is actually in the key of E.

The settings of *Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder* (DTB 3 and 4) are similar from the modal point of view to those of *Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein*. Both of Pachelbel's settings give the tune with the final on E. Walther describes this tune as being in the Phrygian mode.¹⁵ The chorale fughetta setting (DTB 3) unusually gives the second line of the chorale melody as the fugal answer. This has the effect of not emphasising the dominant; even the bass entry on B (bar 9) contrives to emphasise that it is the on the dominant of E, not an entry in the key of B. Indeed, the whole harmonic direction of the piece is towards the subdominant, a common feature also with many treatments of modal melodies. This allows the final cadence, which is a 'Phrygian' cadence on to E decorated with a plagal cadence, to reinforce harmonically the final, E. The chorale fughetta of the combination setting (DTB 4) is completely regular in its entries on the tonic and dominant, ending with a Phrygian cadence on to E, but this is turned immediately into a perfect cadence in A minor, in which key the chorale section is written. At the end the music 'ends on the dominant' with a plagal cadence, but the effect here again is to emphasise the final, E.

This outcome brings another peculiarity of the modal system to the fore. There was always an ambiguity about tunes with E as final; the structure of the tune emphasised the 'subdominant' rather than the 'dominant'. Thus these tunes often gave the suggestion of the 'tonic' being A in the Hypoaeolian mode (when this mode did not actually exist) but, as it were, 'ended on the "dominant"', as we have seen with the previously discussed chorales.¹⁶ The melody of *Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder* has the appearance of such a tune. In this case, however, this is open to

¹⁵ Walther 1732, p 410.

¹⁶ *New Grove*, article 'Mode III', Volume XVI, p 805. In *Dodecachordon* Glarean points out that in contrapuntal compositions, when the tenor is in the Phrygian mode the bass is often in the Aeolian. (Heinrich Glarean, *Dodecachordon*, Basle, 1547, in Tomlinson, Gary, (editor) *Strunk's Source Readings in Music History: Volume 3 - The Renaissance*, New York/ London, 1998, p 155)

question, since this melody, by Hans Leo Hassler, is a relatively modern tune (1601) that was to achieve great fame later at the hands of J. S. Bach. Despite Walther's classification of the tune as in the Phrygian mode, whether it is in that or any other mode must be open to question. Hassler's harmonisation of his own tune in *Lustgarten Neuer Teutsche Gesäng* (Nürnberg, 1601) has the tune start unambiguously in C major, the mid-point cadence being in A minor. The ending, which originally finished d¹ to e¹ (i. e. the rise to g¹ before the final cadence is a later interpolation) is harmonised by a perfect cadence in C major. (Example 5.1)¹⁷

Mein gemueth ist mir verwirret Hans Leo Hassler

Example 5.1 Hans Leo Hassler *Mein gemüth ist mir verwirret*

The anomaly is that, were this tune to be considered modal, the third degree of the scale of C has to be reinterpreted as the final of the Phrygian mode. Even so, it would still be possible to harmonise this final with a chord other than one of E. But since many versions of the tune try to emphasise the 'E-Phrygian character' of the tune by ending with a cadence on to an E chord, the problem arises here as to how this can be done, especially with the g¹-e¹ version. The opening might suggest A minor, but we know from Hassler's (and Bach's) treatment that it works equally well in C major, with a perfect cadence in that key at the end (Riemenschneider 80).¹⁸ Even starting in A minor the tune could end in C major (Riemenschneider 74). Indeed, Bach springs a

¹⁷ Hans Leo Hassler, *Lustgarten Neuer Teutscher Gesäng*, Nürnberg, 1601, Breitkopf u. Härtel, 1997, p 24, as *Mein gemüth ist mir verwirret*.

¹⁸ For the purposes of this discussion I have 'collated' all the harmonisations to the key of A minor/C major. Bach/Riemenschneider, *371 Harmonized Chorales and 69 Chorale Melodies with figured bass*, London/New York, 1941 (first edition, early 19th Century, third edition 1831).

surprise on us more than once by leading towards a C major close, only to give us an interrupted cadence and to end on the dominant chord of the relative minor (Novello, Bach's Organ Works, Vol. 20, p 36,¹⁹ and Riemenschneider 21 [*Herzlich tut mich verlangen*]). But Hassler's harmonisation shows that all this is deliberate archaism; the tune is in C major. Perhaps Pachelbel's treatment of the tune as being in the Phrygian mode was an unwitting archaism. Unwitting or not, I suggest that Pachelbel's treatment of it is another example of the conflict between Baroque harmonic treatment and the archaic 'Phrygian' character of the tune, even if in this case this character is assumed.

The problems arising from the setting of *Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam* (DTB 14), have already been referred to (page 39).²⁰ The same modal problem is posed by Pachelbel's setting of *Durch Adams Fall* (DTB 22). The chorale melody ends on an A, as also does the *Stollen* phrase. While there seems to be no doubt that it is in the Aeolian mode, Eler gives it as Dorian, while Walther does not mention it. However, there is much emphasis on D; the first phrase has an unambiguous sense of being in D, another of the phrases ends on F, and the final phrase starts as though it is to be in D before subsiding on to A. Pachelbel, in his large combination-type setting (DTB 22), treats the melody in the chorale fughetta as in the Aeolian mode, starting with the fugal answer on E, the subject then following on A. The final fugal entry is on A, however, this leading to a cadence on D that brings in the chorale unambiguously in D minor. If Bach, starting in D, is careful (Riemenschneider 126) to establish a modulation to the dominant (A) at the end of phrase two, Pachelbel is not. Bach's harmonisation likewise accepts the fact that the music modulates to the dominant for the end, giving us a firm cadence in that key. Pachelbel, on the other hand, weakens the possible perfect cadence into A and ends with a plagal cadence on to A. Accepting that modality is a function of melody and does not translate exactly into harmony or counterpoint, it would be possible to harmonise a tune in a key that

¹⁹ The harmonisation in Atkins' collection is obviously by Bach, though it does not say so there. It is not to be found in Riemenschneider, neither under *Herzlich tut mich verlangen* (the title of the chorale that Bach uses for his organ chorale), nor under *O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden*.

²⁰ In Eler's 1588 Hamburg Hymnbook, *Cantica Sacra etc.*, as noted on page 42, the mode given for this tune is Dorian, even though I am persuaded that in fact the tune is in the Aeolian mode.

is different from the modal final;²¹ thus Pachelbel could have finished his chorale with a perfect cadence into D minor underneath the final dominant pedal, this reinforcing the sense of the key that the tune evinces, D minor, despite its ending on A. Perhaps the 'problem' arises because composers wished, at the end anyway, to emphasise through the harmony not the sense of key of the tune, but of the modal final that is at odds with this implied key; their only means of harmonic emphasis, however, was by establishing a key, but necessarily one at odds with the implied key of the melody. Perhaps it is this conflict that gives these pieces their 'modal' feel.

The Lydian and Mixolydian modes suffered attrition in their practical use. The 'sharpened' fourth degree of F Lydian was usually in practice made into B flat, making a piece in the Lydian mode indistinguishable from one in transposed Ionian. Likewise the Mixolydian 'flattened' seventh degree was often sharpened, especially at cadences. Thus a tune such as *Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ*, given by Walther as Mixolydian, has originally an F natural as its 'leading note'. Pachelbel's setting (DTB 30) changes this to an F sharp, so the piece is in G major. However, signs of the modal origin are to be found in the subdominant leanings of the tune, which causes much of the piece to be in C major. *Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot* is another tune that has a very subdominant feel to it, further enhanced by the B flats in the last line (its final is G). Because Pachelbel's setting of it (DTB 19) is a chorale fughetta, we never hear this last line. Nevertheless the subdominant feeling is strengthened by the fugal answer being in the subdominant; there is never an entry on the dominant. Although the dominant is only very briefly established towards the end, there is no final perfect cadence on to G, rather a plagal cadence. The feeling of ending on the dominant, or in the wrong key, is very strong. Similarly in the settings of *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* the melody retains its F natural and in both settings the chorale fugue starts by emphasising F natural (in the key of G), one with a subject that turns through it chromatically, the other by using a subdominant fugal answer which involves it. The final cadences in both uses a mini-modulation to C major

²¹ As Powers writes (Powers 1981, p 433); 'In short, the question of whether polyphony in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries was or ought to be conceived as regularly being 'in' modes of the only modal system then known is moot and complex.' He then goes on to suggest that the theorists did their level best both to explain existing works as being 'in' modes, and to demonstrate that this theory underlay music then being written. But he concedes that Aaron's claim 'that modality is a universal property in polyphony is merely a claim, not a well-known fact.'

against a pedal G, a kind of enhanced plagal cadence, neither having a perfect cadence into G.

The two large combination settings in D major, *Vom Himmel hoch* (DTB 58) and *Ein' feste Burg* (DTB 23), are both unambiguously in that key. Although this can be thought of as being the Ionian mode, it does not alter the fact that there is no feeling of modality present at all. The harmonies used in these pieces could have been written half a century later by Bach. As I shall show later, it is the open-hearted, joyful pieces that do not involve modality.

Although the chorale itself is the chief conditioner as to whether modality is involved or not, it seems that the more emotionally laden chorales are in the more 'antique' modes, the more cheerful ones are in Ionian or Mixolydian with a sharpened seventh. Pachelbel reacts to any pathos of the words with harmonies that are more easily engendered in a modal environment. The conflict lies in the fact that these pathetic harmonies involve discord and chromaticism, things that are by nature alien to modality. As mentioned above, it is perhaps this irony, this conflict between the modal character of the tune and the tonal character of the harmony that makes settings using modal melodies particularly expressive. Taking the opportunities offered by the necessity of setting a modal melody Pachelbel exploits this necessity for expressive effect while using essentially modern harmony.

5.3 The treatment of part writing

The chorale (the sung hymn) is a vocal genre. While the earliest performances of the chorales were undoubtedly *choraliter*, it is remarkable how soon composers set the melodies in a wider musical framework. The chorale motets of Johann Walter were amongst the earliest publications of any sort of chorale, and date from the 1520s. Their style, deriving from the strict contrapuntal style of the Netherlanders, was to dominate both choral and instrumental treatments of the melodies ever after. Organ chorales can be seen as intabulations, either direct or by imitation, of the vocal style of these early chorale motets.

Because of their origins in a vocal style, a characteristic of organ chorales is their adherence to strict part writing. Sweelinck, in his attempt to realise on the keyboard

the effect of vocal counterpoint, submitted his part writing to strict limitations. This strictness was inherited by his successors, and the South-German line of development was the most Rhadamanthine in its adherence to these principles. An analysis of Scheidt's and Pachelbel's organ chorales reveals that every piece is strictly in however many voices it is. Indeed, it is the looseness, the incorporation of keyboard figuration that does not comply with rigorous voice leading, that makes it almost certain that *Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr* (DTB 7) is not by Pachelbel. This seemingly trivial observation highlights just how completely realised is the voice-leading ideal in Pachelbel's organ chorales. No matter how 'instrumental' in character the ornamentation of the single lines might be, the voice-leading is always completely rigorous.²² The same might be said of Bach's organ chorales, and in this he followed Pachelbel more than he did Buxtehude.

While Sweelinck wrote many pieces in two or three parts, for him the ideal layout of keyboard polyphony was a4. Scheidemann, Scheidt and Pachelbel also wrote a2, a3 and a4, but with them the balance swings towards a4. The majority of Pachelbel's organ chorales are a4. But another ideal is also at work here, that of the fugue. While a fugue a3 is quite feasible, all Pachelbel's free-standing (non-chorale-based) fugues are a4. The incorporation of this a4 fugal style into the organ chorale is a factor leading to the predominance of four-part writing. Further, the a4 ideal corresponded to the Renaissance ideal of four equal vocal parts.²³ So in this respect Pachelbel's a4 organ polyphony can be seen as an example of either the resurrection or the maintenance of the Renaissance vocal ideal.

This ideal of equal voices had been undermined first by the development of the homophonic madrigal style, and then by the development of the monodic soloistic vocal style underpinned by the continuo. In these developments the melodic line and the bass had become the most significant parts, the others mere harmonic filling. Pachelbel and his predecessors were masters of this style too, but in their organ chorales they tended not to use it. While indeed the *cantus firmus*, whether in cantus

²² Perhaps one should emphasise that although rapid figuration seems to be an 'instrumental-style' decoration of a vocally-conceived line, singers ornamented vocal lines in a virtuoso fashion from earliest times.

²³ Rolf Dammann, *Der Musikbegriff im deutschen Barock*, 1984, Chapter 3 (pp 181-214), discusses this very thoroughly. He definitely sees the four-voice combination, derived from the medieval tenor + counter-tenor altus + counter-tenor bassus + superius as something natural and ideal.

or bass, stands out and is thus 'unequal', nevertheless an ideal of equality of treatment of the voices lies behind these pieces, especially in the chorale fughettsas. Such an ideal suggests a mode of performance that singles out the *cantus firmus* only, but does not assume that the pedals will reinforce the bass line in counterpoint.

It is remarkable that in Sweelinck's, Scheidemann's and Scheidt's organ chorales the pedals are rarely used except to carry the *cantus firmus*. The exception to this is the elaborate *cantus-firmus* settings of Scheidemann 'a 2 Clav. e Ped.', the style that later became known as the monodic style. This development, which exploited the tonal possibilities of the North-German organs, became the hallmark of the North-German style, and does indeed assign to the bass a fundamental role. But in Scheidt's organ chorales, despite the claims in the preface to *Tabulatura Nova III* that they can be played in the same way, the bass line is equal in importance to all the other accompanying lines, and does not have the character of a pedal part. It is rather the soloistic lines in his organ works that seem to have been conceived with the pedals in mind; their task was as often to solo out the melody as to reinforce the bass. In counterpoint the bass line does not need reinforcing. This idea of the equality of voices Pachelbel inherited from him.

O'Regan has pointed out that imitative counterpoint, almost an indicator of *stile antico*, was in general use in most genres throughout the seventeenth century,²⁴ but that 'by the end of the century [.....it was] a genuinely retrospective conscious recreation of a Palestrina-derived *stile antico* that was still very much part of the musical present.'²⁵ Pachelbel's chorale fugues are like miniature *stile antico* motets in their handling of the voices. A work like *Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein* (DTB 1) is strictly in four voices. Each voice has its own ambitus, each of which is just an octave and corresponds to the mode.²⁶ This strict adherence to the narrow ambitus is admittedly exceptional in Pachelbel's works, shared by *Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund* (DTB 15), another evocation of the *stile antico* motet. More usually the ambitus in each part encompasses the authentic and plagal forms of the mode and

²⁴ Noel O'Regan, *The Church Triumphant: music in the liturgy*, in Carter and Butt 2005, p 293.

²⁵ O'Regan, *ibid*, p 320.

²⁶ The cantus lies between d² and d³; the alto between a¹ and a²; the tenor, slightly overstepping the limits, between c¹ and e-flat² (it should be d¹ – d²), the bass between G and g (ideally A – a). This could have been the layout of a vocal work in this mode. An extension of the octave ambitus by a note at either end was accepted. Dammann (Dammann 1984, p 188) gives an explanation of how the plagal and authentic ranges of the adjacent parts interlock in a contrapuntal modal work.

thus extends to a twelfth, with a possible one-note extension beyond that. Sometimes, as in Sweelinck's counterpoint, one voice changes seamlessly into another, a process Dirksen calls mutation.²⁷ A good example of this in Pachelbel's music is the chorale fugue section of *Ich ruf' zu dir* (DTB 38), where in bar 14 the cantus mutates into the alto while a 'new' cantus comes in above it. Nevertheless the integrity of the parts is maintained.

One would expect that this rigour would be subject in Pachelbel's works to numerous infringements. Infringements there are indeed, but they are of a systematic nature. A voice that remains strictly within its ambitus for most of the piece suddenly has an entry flagrantly outside that ambitus. This often happens in the bass, where the final entry is very low. Good examples of this are to be found in *Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot* (DTB 19); *Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht* (DTB 12); *Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt* (DTB 16). This stepping outside the ambitus is undoubtedly done for effect; the sudden appearance of the voice outside its ambitus brings it into relief. In these cases the question is raised whether such an entry should always be reinforced by being played on the pedals.²⁸ A further complication to this question is whether, when such an entry appears at the end of a chorale fughetta section in a combination type piece, this entry should be played on the pedals, even if they are not to be used in the rest of the piece.

Sometimes this exceeding of the ambitus occurs in the cantus; the chorale-fughetta sections of two combination-type chorales, *Christ lag in Todesbanden* (DTB13) and *Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl* (DTB 27) demonstrate this. Sometimes both cantus and bass go outside their ambitus; both settings of *Ach Herr mich armen Sünder* (DTB 3 and 4), the larger *Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein* (DTB 2), the second setting of *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* (DTB 10), and *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein* (DTB 64) all show this. *Ein' feste Burg* (DTB 23) raises interesting problems. The cantus entry at bar 19 is most striking, incorporating the highest note in the piece, and is followed by a bass entry lying outside the normal ambitus of this part. However, if the shortened version of the piece (found in Matthaei III, p 69) is played (leaving out the following chorale section), there is yet a further bass entry

²⁷ Pieter Dirksen, *The Keyboard Music of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck*, n. p., 1997, p 532.

²⁸ In DTB 16 and in several other pieces these entries are, in the DTB text, marked to be played on the pedals. This indication is of course purely editorial.

which seems somewhat anti-climactic. If the longer version is played the bass entry in bar 28 is indeed the final bass entry of the introductory chorale fughetta; would using the pedals for this entry detract from the entry of the complete chorale melody in the pedals? I think so.

This brings me to a discussion of the use of pedals in general in the organ chorales. The phenomenon of the final bass entry lying outside the normal ambitus of the bass part occurs also in some of the non-chorale-based fugues, but normally the bass parts of all the contrapuntal organ works are so unidiomatic for pedals, so similar to the other parts, that there seems no good reason to play them on the pedals. The same can be said for the accompaniment-type *cantus-firmus* settings with the *cantus firmus* in the cantus. Although on the face of it some of these would seem to be playable ‘*a 2 Clav. e Ped.*’, thus allowing the *cantus firmus* to be soloed out, when the attempt is made there are too many large spans in the left hand to imagine that this is how it was meant to be played. And again, although theoretically it would be possible to play a four-part *cantus-firmus* setting with the melody in the cantus playing the melody in the pedals, as Scheidt might well have done, there would not have been a pedal stop of a high enough pitch to play the cantus melody on the pedals on any of the organs at which Pachelbel presided. The rich array of solo pedal stops right up to one-foot pitch that Scheidt had at his disposal does not appear on Pachelbel’s organs. Further, the layout of these pieces is such that they are easily manageable manuals only; had that not been intended, had the bass line been intended for the pedals, the other voices on one manual, then one would expect to find large spans especially between tenor and bass voices; such is not the case.

There is only one genuine indication for the use of pedals in Pachelbel’s organ chorales, occurring in *Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern* (DTB 65) and stemming from the printed edition. Any other indications found in the manuscripts are by Walther. This example does confirm the view that the *cantus firmus* must be played on the pedals if it lies in the bass. The three-part partita-type chorales with the *cantus firmus* in the bass are not playable without using pedals, since the spans needed are too great; the character of the pieces, however, does not seem to demand that they be played as trios. Obviously those combination-type chorales with the melody in the bass were intended to be played using the pedals; Pachelbel was specifically enjoined

to perform using all the stops on the organ on those occasions when he played them as test pieces. Regarding *Nun lob mein' Seel' den Herren* (DTB 52), the one chorale with the *cantus firmus* in the tenor, it is certainly possible to play the piece without pedals, though only with a certain awkwardness, and the result is not as effective as when the pedals are used. It seems to me that Pachelbel intended the pedals to be used, though a more convincing reason for this than the demands of the layout of the piece is the fact that the *cantus firmus* is presented in a key remote from that in which the chorale is written (C instead of G). This choice of key meant that the piece could not have been used to introduce a performance of the chorale; it was purely a stand-alone organ solo.²⁹ Why then did Pachelbel choose this key? Was the reason for this choice of key related to the intention to have the melody played on the pedals, using a four-foot stop? I believe so. Had the piece been in G the melody might have been playable on the pedals on an eight-foot stop, though on a pedal board that only went up to c¹, d¹, needed for the tune, would have been missing; if a four-foot stop had been used there would, on a 'short-octave' pedal board, have been no f sharp, also needed for the tune. Remembering that the piece was widely published (i. e. intended for organs other than that in Erfurt and therefore possibly not having d¹ or f sharp on the pedals), it seems likely that Pachelbel, wishing the pedals to be used, thought that the key of C the most appropriate, with the melody played on a four-foot stop.

The voices in Pachelbel's two- and three-part chorales use a wider ambitus than those in the four-part settings. This is either because there is simply more room, or that it is easier to hear fewer voices, allowing them to be more complicated, or else that the parts can be considered as-it-were hybrid voices. Nevertheless generally one has the feeling that Pachelbel in these pieces does not utilise the whole keyboard. The number of times c⁴ (then the highest note on the organ) is used in the whole of the organ works is very small, as indeed is the number of times that C is used. a³ is normally the highest note, which makes its entry in *Ein' feste Burg* so striking. This limitation springs perhaps from Pachelbel's concern with ambitus, but also with the

²⁹ Noteworthy also is the fact that this is the only organ chorale (apart from the partitas) that has the *cantus firmus* starting immediately at the beginning of the piece with absolutely no fore-imitation there or anywhere later.

frequency with which the *cantus firmus* appears in the cantus. Thus a large-scale combination setting might well make use of almost the whole keyboard for the introductory chorale fughetta, but then cannot go above the highest note in the chorale melody. Even so, when the melody lies in the bass Pachelbel still seems to limit himself. Thus in *Ich ruf' zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ* (DTB 38) the highest note in the piece is f^3 , reached once in the fughetta and once in the *cantus-firmus* section. Even where Pachelbel does go high, reaching for instance $b\text{-flat}^3$ in *Christ lag in Todesbanden* (DTB 13) a number of times, he tends, even where not constrained by the *cantus firmus*, to end the piece, as here, in the middle of the keyboard. None of the large-scale combination settings with the *cantus firmus* in the pedals ends in the octave $c^3 - c^4$, but all descend at the end into the lower octave. One longs for a flourish at the end such as we find in Bach (for example the end of the first fugue in Book 1 of the '48' – admittedly an after-thought – or the beginning and end of the C major prelude for organ, BWV 545).

One of the limitations that Sweelinck imposed on his keyboard polyphony was not to cross parts. He allowed himself this luxury only when the different lines were played on different departments of the organ. The '*a 2 Clav. e Ped.*' style of the north Germans was a development of this licence, enabling these composers to cross parts while still maintaining contrapuntal clarity and coherence, since the various lines were played using different tone colours. That they took such advantage of this possibility soon meant that their music was unplayable in any other way. Scheidt's music, however, though it could (as he says) be played in this way, does not need to be. He rarely crosses parts, and the layout of the parts is always obvious even when the music is played on one manual. Pachelbel's music is more extreme in this respect. He never crosses parts in his organ chorales, nor in his contrapuntal organ music. Even where he could, in for instance *Nun lob mein' Seel' den Herren* (DTB 52), he does not do so; the nearest he gets to it in this piece is a collision in the penultimate bar. This and an exactly similar one in *Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot'* (DTB 19) are the only collisions between parts in the whole of the organ chorales (including those not considered authentic). This is a truly remarkable fact, considering how prevalent such collisions are in keyboard music in general. Even overlaps are almost non-existent. All this has the effect of making the counterpoint

look very ‘well-behaved’, an aspect of it that I shall demonstrate also when considering the treatment of dissonance.

5.4 The elaboration of simple structures I: the treatment of dissonance

The improvisatory skills of organists must have varied as widely in the seventeenth century as they do today, even allowing for the greater importance then placed on the practice. Often enough the ‘improvisation’ to introduce a chorale may have consisted of no more than playing the tune in octaves. But those organists with a modicum of ability may well have been able to improvise a *bicinium*; maybe this was one of the most common forms of improvisation used; perhaps that is why the *bicinium*, considered by Pachelbel’s time an archaic genre, figures in his output, with an especially splendid example in his *Etlicher Choräle*. Another genre that any organist of stature would have been able to improvise was the chorale fugue, the usual way of introducing a hymn, in central Germany at least. Nevertheless there were presumably many who could not have done this; the *Weimarer Tabulatur Buch* may be evidence of the need for written-out examples for the common hymns. An improvised accompaniment-type setting could also have been a simple note-for-note harmonisation of the melody. Such settings had appeared in the *Tabulaturbücher*, so organists could have become accustomed enough to playing them to be able to improvise them as well. It is on the basis of these very simple improvised examples that the more elaborate examples that we are studying were built. It is the way in which these simple forms were elaborated that I wish to discuss now. I shall start by using Pachelbel’s *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein*, an unassuming little piece, to show how an ‘elaborate’ setting might have arisen from a simple extemporisation.

Plate 13 on page 183 shows Matthaei’s edition of *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein* (Matthaei III, p 46). The text is relatively clean, the only additions being bar numbers, the instruction ‘*Manual*’, a metronome marking, the occasional articulation mark, and the ‘*p. a. p. Rit.*’ at the end. (See Plate 14, page 219, for the manuscript).

In allgemeiner Landesnot Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein

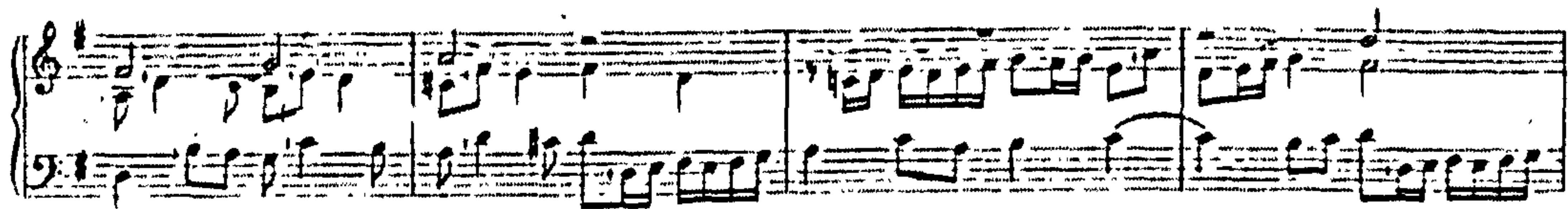
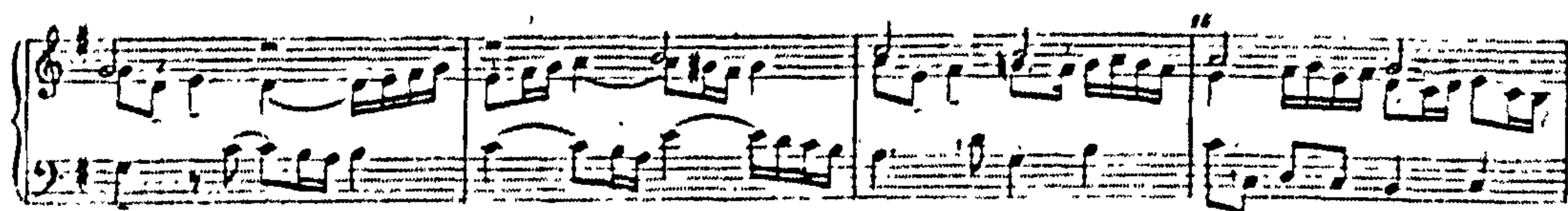
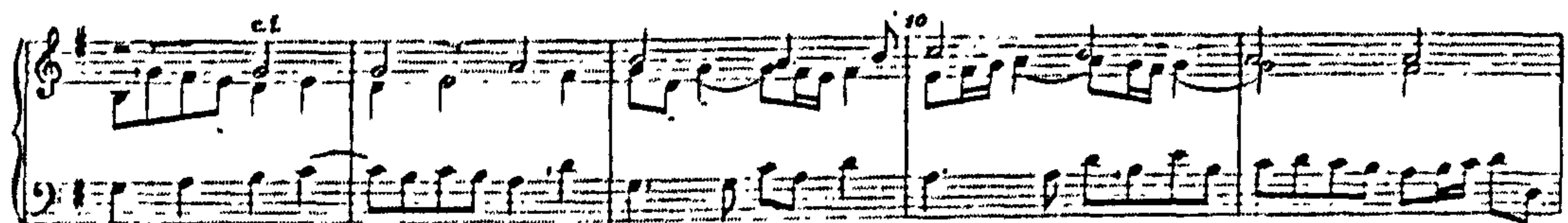
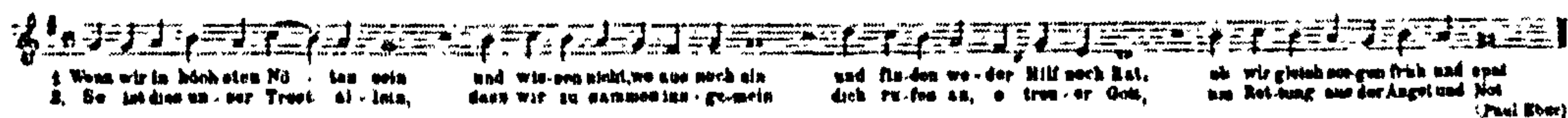


Plate 13 Matthaei's edition of Pachelbel, *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein*, showing the chorale at the head of the page. (This is pages 46 and 47 of Bärenreiter's 1934 edition).

Example 5.2 shows a ‘skeleton’ of the piece that I have constructed.



Example 5.2 Skeleton of Pachelbel, *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein*

It is not hard to imagine that an organist who knew the tune could have extemporised something like this very simple fugal introduction and the basic harmonisation of the melody that follows. The art would have been how to elaborate this simple structure. Pachelbel’s organ chorale is an elaborated version of this skeleton; it is a written-down example of one possibility offered by the basic structure that the skeleton represents.

In Pachelbel’s chorale the fugal introduction of the completed chorale presents the melody in crotchet beats much in the manner of a *stile antico* Mass-setting head motif based on the coming *cantus firmus*. The tactus of the piece remains the crotchet, even after the *cantus firmus* enters in minim beats. The preparation, suspension and resolution of dissonances take place over three beats of the tactus, as in *stile antico* polyphony,³⁰ there being only one dissonance that unfolds in minim

³⁰ In comparing Renaissance polyphony and the Baroque fugal textures I tacitly assume that the *stile antico* polyphony is written in modern notation. Thus the tactus is a crotchet in a 4/4 bar; the smallest note values are the quaver (crotchet in the original) with the occasional semiquaver(s) in ornamental flourishes. In comparing Pachelbel’s music with Byrd’s keyboard fantasias, the equivalent of Byrd’s extended passages of semiquavers would have to be rendered in Pachelbel in demisemiquavers. Byrd often starts these pieces with the tactus in minim beats in motet style. Although in theory the tactus remains a minim throughout, in practice it often becomes a crotchet, with frequent harmonic movement in quavers, this being a device to generate increasing excitement. Semiquavers are a further level of decoration. And while the Renaissance masters could of course write in other times than four in a bar (even though not notated so), there are only two of Pachelbel’s organ chorales that are not in

beats (bar 11), and three that unfold at twice the speed (i. e. over three quavers, bars 16, 17 and 21) as might have happened in Byrd, but not in Palestrina. The harmonic movement of the melody in the skeleton is indeed in minims, but in the elaboration (i. e. Pachelbel's chorale) this harmonic movement doubles in speed, continuing that set up in the introduction. Because of all this the *cantus firmus* feels like a *cantus firmus*, riding over the texture in note values longer than the tactus.³¹

How is this creation of a texture that moves at double the speed of the simple chorale melody, the enlivening of the simple note-against-note counterpoint of the melody, achieved? One way of decorating the harmony, of making it more mobile, is to use suspensions. The suspended part can be thought of as retardation, and, given the crotchet tactus, with the *cantus firmus* in minims, a suspension, dissonance and resolution over three crotchets gives rhythmic movement on the weak beats, and contrapuntal movement. Although this treatment is a decoration of the fundamental structure, because it takes place using the crotchet pulse it becomes harmonically essential and a part of this structure. Pachelbel's settings are full of it; in this setting of *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein* it happens in 14 of its 28 bars, sometimes more than once, 16 times in total. The resolution is often further decorated with anticipatory quavers or semiquavers (bars 6, 12), the effect of which is both to give variety to and to mollify the dissonances. In *Der Tag, der ist so freudenreich* (DTB 18) there are sixty suspensions in seventy bars. Again Pachelbel varies the treatment by varying the intensity of the dissonances. While there is no consistency in what he does in this piece, generally, if a resolving part forms another suspension, there is no decoration, the part marching on to the next dissonance; in other instances either the suspended note or the resolution note are decorated to ameliorate the starkness of the dissonance. This subtle gradation of the intensity of the dissonance ensures variety despite the ubiquitous use of this technique. It could perhaps be said that there is too much use of this; as we shall see later, when considering the expressive purpose of such technical devices, this one, because it is used so frequently, ceases to carry its

4/4; they are *Nun lob mein' Seel' den Herren* (3/2) and the smaller of the settings of *Vom Himmel hoch* (12/8).

³¹ But having said that the *cantus firmus* feels like a *cantus firmus* with respect to the chorale setting, it is always notated in minims as in the hymn books. So the notation of the *cantus firmus* presents it in augmentation in the setting, but is the same as the singing version. This would seem to suggest that the tempo of the melody was the same in setting and choral performance.

appropriate emotional significance, and becomes almost a tic.

A simpler means of decorating the contrapuntal lines than these structural dissonances, this incessant preparation, suspension and resolution, however, is the filling in of melodic intervals, especially thirds, with a passing note (called by Walther in his *Praecepta der musicalischen Composition* of 1708 'transitus').³² There are examples of this in many places in both *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein* and *Der Tag, der ist so freudenreich*. Although crotchet passing notes are possible, Pachelbel avoids them;³³ all crotchet movement is harmonic. Indeed the quaver movement, while often involving passing notes, is also mostly harmonically essential.³⁴ Most passing dissonance arises from semiquaver movement.

Passing notes naturally generate dissonance. At its simplest the dissonance falls on the weaker element of the bar or beat, the consonance on the stronger. The line passes from consonance on the beat via the dissonant passing note to another consonance on the next beat. In *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein* (Matthaei III, p 46), the majority of semiquaver movements are of this sort, the rest mostly auxiliary notes in similar circumstances.³⁵ Only rarely do accented passing-note semiquavers form a transient dissonance on a quaver or crotchet beat. The majority of passing dissonances fall therefore on the most unaccented notes.

The vast majority of quaver movement in *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein* is

³² Johann Gottfried Walther, *Praecepta der Musicalischen Composition*, Weimar, 1708. Modern edition Band 2 of *Jenaer Beiträge zur Musikforschung*, Leipzig 1955.

³³ Palestrina tends to avoid them too. The opening of the *Kyrie* of the *Aeterna Christi munera* Mass is unusual. It employs the same progression as in bar 3 of both of Pachelbel's organ chorales here being discussed, though Pachelbel makes the rhythm of the rising tenor part dotted to avoid the crotchet passing note and to give movement off the beat. It is interesting also that in *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein* there is one of the few instances where Pachelbel decorates the *cantus firmus*, although admittedly that decoration is minimal. In bars 22 and 26 a melodic third is filled in using a dotted rhythm; had the passing note been in an even rhythm then there would have been a crotchet passing note. This dotted-rhythm filling in of the third is called in the *Figurenlehre accento*.

³⁴ A place like bar 22 of *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein* shows quaver movement both as harmonic movement and as passing notes – the first beat has passing-note quavers which are harmonically inessential; on the second beat they become essential). This, combined with the general movement of the lines by step, gives the polyphony a smoothness and euphony much like Palestrina's music.

³⁵ Of the 40 times there is movement on unaccented semiquavers, 23 of these are passing notes of this kind, moving between consonances or from a harmonically essential dissonance to a consonance. 15 semiquaver movements are of auxiliary notes in similar circumstances, though three are in an accented position. The three echappées also have the dissonance on the semiquaver off-beat. One semiquaver movement is a consonance. It is therefore only the 8 accented passing note semiquavers that form a transient dissonance on a quaver or crotchet beat.

consonant; passing dissonance on quaver beats is relatively rare.³⁶ There are no accented passing-note quavers. There are occasions when quaver movement is caused by essential dissonance on the main beats of the bar. These movements are themselves to a consonance to resolve the dissonance, but they all happen on quavers because the resolution, which should be a crotchet, is always anticipated (and always decorated with a semiquaver auxiliary – e. g. bars 9 and 10, alto part).

This picture shows a hierarchy of dissonance. Apart from the harmonically essential dissonance, formed by preparation, suspension on beats one or three of the bar, and resolution, all dissonance is relegated to the weakest parts of the bar. This gives a very euphonious texture where it is the figuration that causes the passing dissonance in a very consonant ambience.

If we examine the larger setting of the same chorale, *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein* (DTB 64), we find that because the texture uses mostly quaver movement the variety of treatment of passing notes applies to them rather than the semiquavers. The semiquavers are mostly accented auxiliary notes decorating the resolution of suspensions. The picture is one of movement in semiquavers spicing up the prevailing quaver movement.

The quaver movement is, as in the smaller setting, mostly consonant.³⁷ There is one crotchet passing note, and one augmented chord that defies analysis (in terms of rhythmic treatment of dissonance in *stile antico*), as well as an example of the treatment of the dominant-seventh chord as though it were a consonance (bar 38).

This setting is superficially much more like a piece of *stile antico* counterpoint than the smaller one, with fewer semiquavers, and those all decorations of slower movement. There is no group of more than two semiquavers together. However, the relatively large number of accented passing notes, the mobility of some of the lines, especially the bass part, and the unorthodox treatment of some of the harmony in the chorale section, give it a flavour that is quite different. Even so, the general feel of the texture is still very euphonious, and the hierarchy of dissonance outlined in the other setting applies here too. The counterpoint seems very ‘well behaved.’

³⁶ When we consider quaver movement we find that of the 89 quaver movements 66 are consonant. Of the others 8 are simple passing notes, 2 are auxiliaries and 2 are echappées.

³⁷ Out of 136 quaver movements 58 are consonant, 51 are simple passing notes and 12 are unaccented auxiliaries. There is one accented auxiliary, one echappée, but 13 accented passing notes. Of the 45 preparation, suspension and resolution procedures 28 are undecorated, 17 decorated in some way.

The partita-type organ chorales, of which *Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt* (DTB 21) and *Gott der Vater wohn' uns bei* (DTB 31) are representative, use a texture of continuous semiquavers more often than the other types. Pachelbel's treatment of the dissonance arising from this texture is thoroughly modern. The variety of figurations in these pieces seems at first glance endless, but a closer look reveals a small number of frequently used formulaic patterns. These patterns can be described thus:

- Movement is predominantly by step. Where there is a skip it is almost always from a consonant note to a consonant note, and usually this skip is a third. Sometime these skips are part of an arpeggio pattern (*Durch Adams Fall*, bar 42, bass)
- Where skips are from a dissonance this is as part of a chain of echappées (*Durch Adams Fall*, bar 23, alto; see Example 5.3, page 189).
- Commoner patterns are the scale, and the movement by step to and from an auxiliary.
- If the scale goes on for four notes we have the tirata mezza, consonance and dissonance alternating (*Durch Adams Fall*, bar 23, bass part), though obviously a change of harmony can change the pattern of dissonance (*Durch Adams Fall*, bar 24, alto).
- More frequently the scale is of three notes, preceded or followed by conjunct motion or a skip in the opposite direction to that of the scale (*Durch Adams Fall*, bar 22, alto, bar 27, alto, among many others);
- if a three-note scale is preceded or followed by conjunct motion in the opposite direction to that of the scale then we have the pattern of motion to and from an auxiliary (*Durch Adams Fall*, bar 26, bass, among many others). Otherwise this motion to and from an auxiliary can be preceded or followed by a skip, usually in the same direction as the preceding or following movement. When the first note of the three-note figure is preceded by the same note it is a decoration of the resolution of a harmonically essential dissonance (*Durch Adams Fall*, bar 29, alto).



Example 5.3 Pachelbel, *Durch Adams Fall*, DTB 21, bars 22-29

To summarise: all the semiquaver figures in both these chorales can be construed, along the lines above, as: arpeggio; echappée; four-note scale; three-note scale preceded or followed by conjunct motion or skip (or tied-over note the same as the first note of the scale); motion to and from an auxiliary followed or preceded by conjunct motion or a skip in the same direction. The short extract quoted from *Durch Adams Fall* contains all these possibilities except the arpeggio pattern. The seemingly profuse variety of figures in this piece turns out to be no such thing; the resultant figures are almost characterless, a bland but rhythmically energetic background. Only rarely do they turn into classifiable *figure*, with *superjectio* or *tirata mezza* being the most common). In *Gott der Vater wohn' uns bei* (Example 5.4) the simple three-note patterns (scale and motion to and from an auxiliary) are made into a feature, much of their character arising from the detachment of them from the flow of semiquavers by using the *suspirans* rhythm with its preceding semiquaver rest.



Example 5.4 Pachelbel, *Gott der Vater wohn' uns bei*, (DTB 31), bars 23-29

If the first note of the group of four semiquavers is functionally dissonant it is usually repeated, falling to an anticipation of the resolution note which is therefore decorated by an auxiliary before returning to the resolution note proper (*Gott der Vater*, bar 19, alto, bar 28, bass, *Durch Adams Fall*, bar 23, alto, bar 26, bass). Usually, however, the first note of each group of semiquavers is consonant; there is no passing dissonance at the beginning of a semiquaver group. The dissonance pattern through the group of four semiquavers obviously varies according to pattern and context, but a constantly occurring pattern is a dissonance in the form of an accented passing note on the third note of the group (*Gott der Vater*, bar 27, alto). The majority of the resolutions using repeated semiquavers in *Durch Adams Fall* use this pattern (bars 28, 34, 37, 44, all in the alto). This gives a harmonic spring to the passagework, especially when allied like this to the resolution of the suspensions. Although Pachelbel does not normally decorate *cantus firmi*, where he does so, in the Partitas, this type of dissonance pattern can be seen. So in Partita 2 of *Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan*, where the *cantus firmus* is decorated in continuous semiquavers for 10 bars, which is 40 crotchet beats, there are 37 groups of four semiquavers. Of these 37 groups 29 have the first semiquaver consonant and the third dissonant. Bach's organ chorale *Es ist gewisslich an der Zeit* (BWV 734) will tell the same story.

There is hardly ever a leap to a dissonant note (*Gott der Vater*, bar 45, alto, leaping from d¹ to b, is a very rare exception), except when the echappée is employed, though this very frequently is. Sometimes chains of echappées (*superjectio*) are used (*Gott der Vater*, bar 2, alto, bar 21, bass), sometimes just one is used (*Durch Adams Fall*, bar 29, alto). The echappée is a 'throw-away' note, and any passage using this figure can be analysed ignoring it. Thus in the bass part in the first part of bar 21 of *Gott der Vater wohn' uns bei* the harmonically essential movement is a descending scale, a, g sharp, f sharp, e, d. Here the echappées are dissonant but leap to a consonance. Sometimes they leap to a dissonance the justification of which comes from the underlying pattern. Thus in the alto of bar 39 of the same piece, the first c¹ sharp in the bar is a passing dissonance justified by the conjunct motion from a to d¹; the echappées decorate this. This type of situation, though quite common in Pachelbel's counterpoint, is the only instance of a part moving to a dissonance by skip; skips otherwise are between consonances; dissonances are either passing and

are approached and quitted by step, or are harmonically essential and are prepared and resolved. It is the 'well-behaved' nature of the decorative counterpoint that gives Pachelbel's music its modern air. This style was to become yet more refined in those works of his last years, the *Magnificat* fugues, the part-writing of which in this respect resembles that of Bach even more closely than does that of his earlier works.

It could be objected that the choice of which organ chorale to analyse gives a slanted picture of Pachelbel's treatment of dissonance. Nevertheless it is my contention that in his treatment of dissonance Pachelbel was a pathfinder, and that the picture I have painted above is a valid one. Even so, it must be said that all Pachelbel's works are not equally advanced in this respect. While Apel considers *Wir glauben all' an einen Gott* (DTB 66) to be 'an appropriation of a strange technique' the result of which is 'rather awkward',³⁸ I think him to be mistaken, but to have put his finger on something. Apel also describes the piece as 'archaic'.³⁹ I think this to be nearer the mark, and an apt description of those other oddities in Pachelbel's output, the *bicinia*. I rest my case for describing Pachelbel's counterpoint as modern by citing the example of *Wir glauben* piece as archaic.

Archaic *Wir glauben* certainly is in its overall texture, the Italian toccata style with a running right hand part supported by left-hand chords, a style that found its way into the virginalists' repertoire.⁴⁰ The style of decoration of the melody is also old-fashioned in the way it uses unceasing semiquavers, similar to many passages in the works of the virginalists. There is very much the feeling of having to fill up the bar with the right number of semiquavers without going anywhere, a marked contrast with the very modern textures found in the partitas.⁴¹ There are archaic figurations such as the one in bar 30, which could have come straight from a fantasy by Byrd; this figuration was much used by Scheidemann. Bars 27 and 28, the written-out trill, the obvious arpeggio treatment and the scale-passage decoration of the melody, also come from the same stable, as does the mechanical sequential repetition of a

³⁸ Of the 26 semiquaver movements 18 have the dissonance in accented positions, ten as accented auxiliaries, eight as accented passing notes. The remaining eight are ordinary passing notes or auxiliaries.

³⁹ Apel 1972, p 656.

⁴⁰ Dietrich calls it an international style before it got taken over by the writers of virtuoso Italian toccatas. Dietrich 1932, p 35.

⁴¹ See, for example, bar 4 of Byrd's Pavana *Lachrymae*, *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, Vol. 2 (Dover Edition), p 42.

rhythmic pattern in bars 64-67 and of a melodic one in bars 23 and 24. The arpeggiated figuration in the second half of bar 1 and in bar 6 is of a type rarely seen elsewhere in Pachelbel's works, and is again reminiscent of an earlier period. It is, however, the treatment of the dissonance that takes the piece furthest from Pachelbel's elegant ideal described above.

The first line of the chorale shows many anomalies in this respect. The opening accented auxiliary c^1 sharp is not only at odds with the mode of the piece, but it, and its reiteration a beat later, although they are the most acute dissonances in the bar, are placed in rhythmically very weak positions. This displacement of the dissonances from their expected place happens also in the next two bars. In bar two there is a prepared and resolved dissonance through beats 2-4, but the resolution, sounding as a 6/4 chord on e (though theoretically the upper part is an accented passing note in place of g^1) is almost more extreme than the discord. In the next bar the second beat, a preparation for the discord on the third beat, is a sounding 6/4 on f (even though, again, the highest part is theoretically only an accented passing note in place of a^1), and the resolution on the fourth beat is an augmented chord. This pattern is repeated in bar 13, there enhanced by the striking false relation that follows. This piquancy is caused by writing accented passing notes on the beginning of the groups of semiquavers that lie on the weaker main beats of the bar.

In bar two the first chord is unambiguously D minor, yet the cantus part in the second crotchet beat either suggests F major or involves a skip to a dissonant note. In bar 5 the decorated cantus has an extraordinary skip from the consonant low a to f^1 . The f^1 could be explained as an auxiliary to a conceptual e^1 that carries through from the first note of the bar, the scale passage c^1 sharp, b and a being seen as another voice (*heterolepsis*), but the aural effect is to heighten the second beat with another augmented chord, after which the rest of the bar and the next sound harmonically relatively tame. All these confusions are in marked contrast to the highly organised relationship between the degree of dissonance and the placement of it in the bar that we have seen in the other organ chorales. Whether we have to do here with deliberate archaism is not easy to say. Certainly it brings into relief the rigorous and polished precision and modern-ness of a chorale such as *Durch Adams Fall*.

5.5 The elaboration of simple structures II: the instrumental character of the ornamentation of the polyphony

The ornamentation of the polyphony has been discussed in some detail above in terms of the effect it has on the harmony. Equally important is its effect on the contrapuntal texture of the organ chorales.⁴²

Although many of Pachelbel's organ chorales are simple in style, he does, nevertheless, as we have seen, elaborate his polyphonic lines, particularly in his partita-type chorales. He does not, however, return to Scheidt's and Sweelinck's methods (except in certain respects in the partitas), but uses a style of elaboration that owes more to string techniques than to either vocal or keyboard styles of elaboration. This development was brought to its apogee by J. S. Bach, whose contrapuntal writing so frequently uses string-like figurations. Pachelbel, in applying this style to organ music, was in this respect a pathfinder. Whether he got his ideas directly from the Italian string masters, or developed them from the application of the *canzon-alla-francese* rhythms to the semiquaver figuration, is hard to decide. Corelli, the earliest and most influential of the Italian string composers, perhaps did visit Germany, though there is little documentation of this visit.⁴³ It seems that his *Concerti Grossi* were in existence by 1682,⁴⁴ his *Trio Sonatas* earlier. Even so, this makes it unlikely that Pachelbel was directly influenced by this music while writing his organ chorales in Erfurt, in the way that Bach was by his discovery of Vivaldi's music in his Cöthen

⁴² Mattheson, writing in the middle of the eighteenth century, says; 'between a vocal and an instrumental melody [...] the former is, so to speak, the mother, but the latter is her daughter [...] the motherly quality requires much modesty and reservation just as contrariwise childishness is more lively and youthful.....'

He is maybe in this view describing the 'instrumentalising' of musical style that took place in the Baroque era, of which process the subject of our debate might be thought an example. However, he perhaps suffers from an insufficiently long view of things. His opinions of the difference between an instrumental and a vocal style is perhaps determined by the inevitable 'superiority' of the instrumental, in that an instrument can play faster and with more agility than a singer can sing, rather than by the provenance of the styles, which is in the Renaissance equally vocal and instrumental, and in the Baroque more vocal than instrumental. Mattheson 1739, p 419.

For a fuller discussion of this see Appendix 5, page 402.

⁴³ Bukofzer 1948, p 223. Michael Talbot (*New Grove*, article 'Corelli', Volume VI, pp 457-463) suggests that although there is a two-year 'gap' in Corelli's life, 1679-81, around the time when he was employed by Queen Christina of Sweden, to whom the Opus 1 trio sonatas are dedicated, documentary 'evidence' of his being in Germany may be confusing him with Torelli. Opus 4 was published in 1700, Opus 5 (the *Concerti Grossi*) not until 1714, but these pieces had been written much earlier.

⁴⁴ Bukofzer 1948, p 223.

years. Nevertheless, I shall compare the figurations Pachelbel uses in his organ chorales closely with those Corelli uses in his *Concerti Grossi* and *Trio Sonatas*. One further salient fact to be noted is that while neither Sweelinck nor Scheidemann wrote for strings, Byrd, Scheidt, Weckmann and Pachelbel did. Pachelbel was well versed in the technique of writing for strings; that the trace of this should be visible in his organ works need not surprise us. It is perfectly conceivable that the evolution of his style came about without external influence, but led to much the same results as did the evolution of Corelli's style, without there being any direct influence the one to the other. Therefore I shall include in the comparison examples of Pachelbel's own string writing.

Only in what might be described as the most primitive of Pachelbel's pieces does his semiquaver figuration resemble that of the earlier composers. In the *bicinia*, because the bass line (or in one instance, the treble line) is having to provide all the rhythmic impetus, there is almost continuous semiquaver movement (Example 5.5).



Example 5.5 Pachelbel, *Durch Adams Fall* (DTB 20), bass part, bars 1-4.

Likewise in the chorale sections of the combination-type chorales with the melody in the bass, the upper parts are in continuous motion, employing the technique of 'complementary figures' that stems ultimately from the virginalists (for example, *Christ lag in Todesbanden*, DTB 13, bars 28 to the end).



Example 5.6 Pachelbel *Christ lag in Todesbanden*, DTB 13, from bar 27

Even so, in both cases, unlike in the music of the earlier masters, Pachelbel never repeats a figure immediately more than once, and does that rarely enough. There is constant variety, melodically, and usually rhythmically too. Syncopations and suspensions work with the harmony to give rhythmic impetus, this impetus leading

towards the cadences, where in the *bicinia* the bass line often employs a cadential formula to underline the feeling of cadence, which gives these pieces a modern feeling despite the seemingly archaic texture employed. A comparison of the bass line of DTB 20 (Example 5.5 [above]) with that of Scheidemann's *Mensch, willst du leben seliglich* (Example 5.7) will show this clearly.



Example 5.7 Scheidemann, *Mensch, willst du leben seliglich*, 3/4 *Versus*, bars 37-41, bass line (Bärenreiter, BA 5481, p 104, line 4).

Where Scheidemann is spinning continuous semiquavers in a mostly arpeggiated manner just to keep the momentum going, Pachelbel's bass is varied melodically and rhythmically, is paced, driving the music to the cadences, and is also thematic.

In Pachelbel's Canon for strings we do indeed see this incessant 'note-spinning' figuration (Example 5.8). There is a lot of movement in parallel thirds and sixths (as there is in the chorales with the *cantus firmus* in the bass). Example 5.8 shows the first appearance of semiquavers in the piece.



Example 5.8 Pachelbel *Canon*, bars 11-15.

Generally in Pachelbel's partita-type chorales the semiquaver figuration is interspersed by notes of larger values, the semiquaver movement often being

complemented in the other parts; there is continuous semiquaver movement, but between one part and the other (Example 5.9).



Example 5.9 Pachelbel, *Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr*, (DTB 6), bars 20-25.

In Pachelbel's *Durch Adams Fall* (DTB 21) there are only three places in this piece of 46 bars where two voices have four semiquavers at the same time, until the last two bars, where a feature is made of parallel motion in semiquavers. The degree of decoration is the same in each of the accompanying parts, though the bass is sometimes different in character because of its harmonic function; it has more than its fair share of arpeggiated figures and large leaps. But the only hierarchy of elaboration between the parts is *vis-à-vis* the *cantus firmus*.

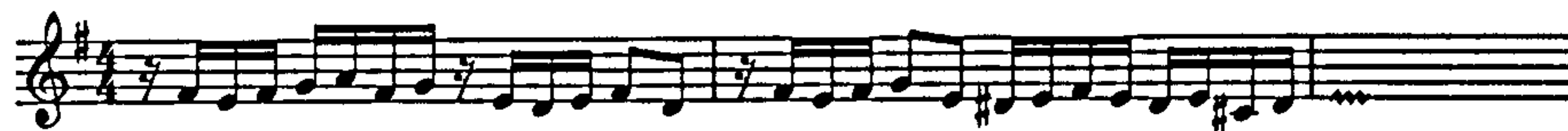
In the Canon semiquaver movement tends to come from one voice, sometimes 'doubled', as it were, as in Example 5.8; although at other times the lines are rhythmically more varied (Example 5.10), there is little in the way of 'complementary figures', presumably because the strict canon a3 would make achieving that very difficult.



Example 5.10 Pachelbel *Canon*, bars 41-47, second violin part.

The most striking features of the semiquaver elaboration in Pachelbel's music, however, are its rhythmic character and phrase structure. Whereas in Scheidemann's or Scheidt's music the semiquavers were generally phrased in fours on the beat, this is the exception in Pachelbel's music. As frequently, in most pieces more frequently, semiquaver movement starts after a semiquaver rest, or a tied-over semiquaver. The near universal up-beat character of the slower moving entries (derived often from the

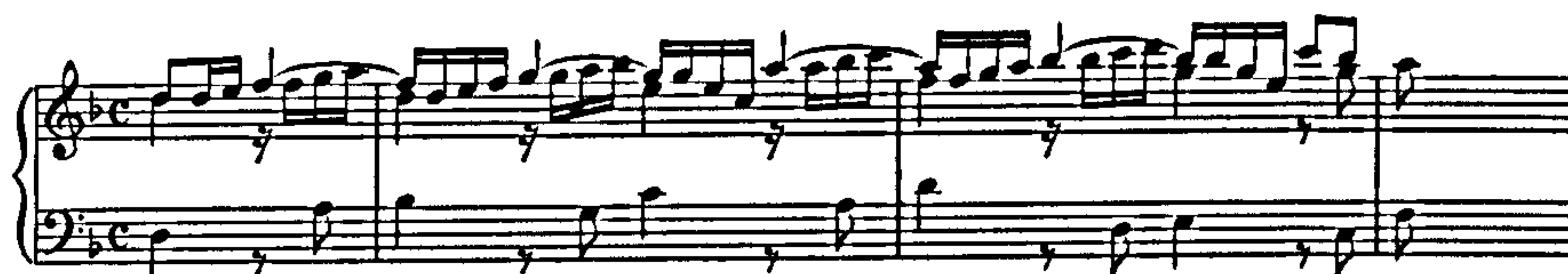
chorales melodies played without the gathering note,⁴⁵ and similar to the *canzona-alla-francese* rhythms) is mirrored in the semiquaver decoration. The phrases, starting like this, often go on in the same way, inviting a phrasing that detaches the initial semiquaver of each group from the three following, giving a continuous feeling of anacrusis. The three up-beat semiquavers following the rest, tied longer note or leap in quavers, are ideally suited to string playing (Examples 5.11a-c, page 198; compare the Pachelbel with the Corelli examples).



Example 5.11a Pachelbel, *Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr*, alto part, bars 25-26



Example 5.11b Corelli, *Concerto Grosso No.9, Allamanda*, first violin part, bars 1-2;



Example 5.11c Corelli, *Concerto Grosso No. 12, Preludio*, concertino, bars 12-15

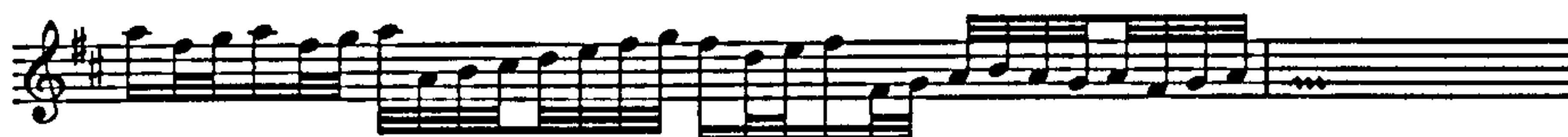
Though these up-beat figures in string writing often occur with repeated notes (which happens often with *canzona-alla-francese* figures too), this only happens in Pachelbel's chorales (and in Corelli's pieces) in quavers; there are no examples of three semiquavers on a group of three repeated notes. Doubtless the technical difficulties of playing three identical notes as an up-beat grouping at speed on the organ were considered too great.⁴⁶

As the Canon progresses the cadence point of each statement of the theme becomes more emphatic, the first note of the new bar seeming more to belong to the

⁴⁵ Although this is a term used to describe a phenomenon in English hymnody, it so fits the bill for the same idea in the chorales that I have felt able to use it here.

⁴⁶ It is not until the Magnificat fugues that Pachelbel exploits repeated semiquavers, though when he does (e. g. IV. 4) the semiquaver figuration tends to be on the beat. (See also DTB 57)

phrase just finishing rather than the one following (though in reality it belongs to both). This makes a phrasing that detaches the first note of the group seem more natural. The first time this becomes apparent the figuration contributes to the effect; the anapaest on to the beat encourages a bowing that detaches the initial semiquaver. (Example 5.12)



Example 5.12 Pachelbel *Canon*, bars 19-20, first violin part.

The following semiquaver passage now feels completely natural when phrased detaching the first semiquaver of each group (Example 5.13).



Example 5.13 Pachelbel *Canon*, bars 127-29, first violin part.

The figuration in Example 5.12 (above), undoubtedly effective on the strings, is unusual, the incessant anapaests on to the beat reminding one rather of Scheidemann or Byrd. It is suited to canonic treatment, leading immediately to flowing passages in thirds or sixths, and later, in bar 35, it contrasts effectively with continuous semiquavers. This type of passagework, however, does not appear in Corelli, and only rarely in Pachelbel's organ chorales, though when it does, in *Wo Gott zum Haus nicht giebt sein' Gunst* (DTB 71, Example 5.14) it makes the piece a *tour de force*. It is interesting that much more is made in this piece than in the Canon of complementary figures, but much less of parallel thirds and sixths.



Example 5.14 Pachelbel *Wo Gott zum Haus nicht giebt sein' Gunst* (DTB 71), bars 12-15.

Ralph Kirkpatrick has discussed at length the significance of those moments when a melodic line moves from slower notes to quicker. He sees these points in a composition as an increase in momentum that needs a preparatory 'girding up of the

loins' to effect. But the reward for this is the sustaining of momentum; as he says, 'up beats lead to down beats'.⁴⁷ Later he points out that an articulation is necessary before such increases in speed, that if this is not made it is difficult for other performers to gauge how quickly the increase in movement is going to take place, and thus to stay together. He also points out that changes in tempo (by which he means those subliminally minute but constantly occurring ones that any performer will make) are governed by up-beat music, not by an emphasis on the down beats.⁴⁸ Thus the audibility of the stretching or compressing of up-beat music is vital in keeping a group of performers together. We can see that the development of a style where up-beat music is made more prominent was essential as counterpoint became more complicated. While indeed Kirkpatrick's remarks might be considered more important for ensemble works than solo, the techniques of the one influenced the other; also, failure to articulate the up-beat music can make it difficult for the solo performer to stay together with himself, as it were; Kirkpatrick is after all discussing solo performance. The change in character of the semiquaver embellishment of polyphonic lines, with an increasing number of instances of tied-over semiquavers, semiquaver rests and 'up-beat' figuration, that we have seen in comparing Scheidemann's and Pachelbel's music, is a crucial element in the development of the 'luxuriant counterpoint' of which Bukofzer speaks.⁴⁹ That this style of counterpoint came to prominence in seventeenth-century Italian string music meant that this 'more-audible-up-beat-music' style was in many ways a string style.

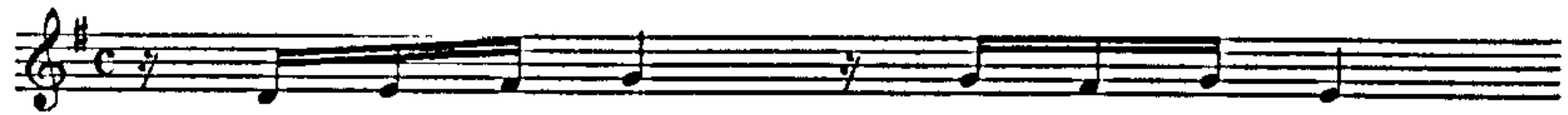
Pachelbel's *Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr* (DTB 6) is a cornucopia of such string-like figures, there being some 30 or more different semiquaver groups or consistent combinations of such groups. Example 5.15a-n (below, pages 200-201) shows some of these, compared with similar patterns found in Corelli's music. (All Pachelbel examples are from DTB 6)

⁴⁷ Ralph Kirkpatrick, *Interpreting Bach's Well-Tempered Clavier*, Yale, 1984, p 70 foll.

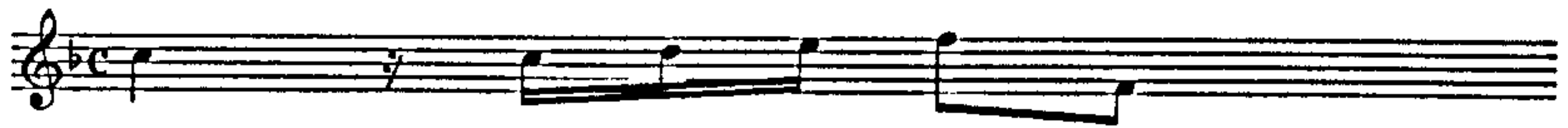
⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p 84.

⁴⁹ Bukofzer 1947, p 221. 'Luxuriant counterpoint' is a translation of *stylus luxurians* (Bernhard's term), which is translated rather engagingly as 'licentious counterpoint' by Kurt-Jürgen Sachs and Carl Dalhaus (*New Grove*, article 'Counterpoint, Volume VI, pp 551-571). They emphasise that its 'licentious' nature springs from the fact that it is 'free', in other words that it involves infringement of the rules of counterpoint in *stile antico*.

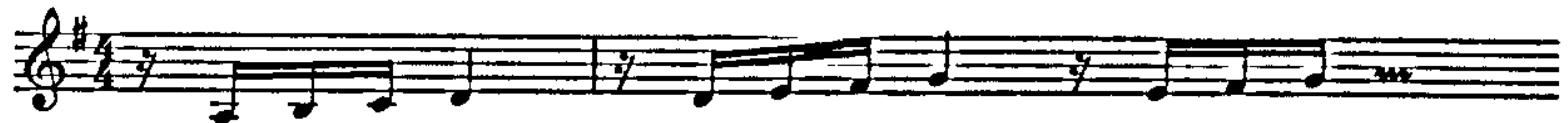
Example 5.15 Comparison of Pachelbel's and Corelli's string figurations



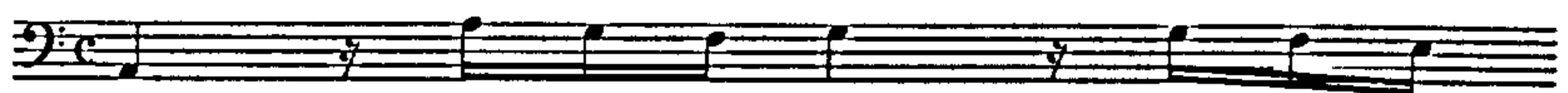
Example 5.15a Pachelbel, bar 3, alto



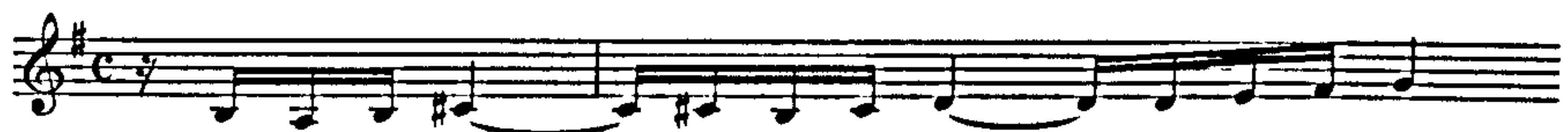
Example 5.15b Corelli, *Concerto 9, Allamanda*, violin 1, bar 1



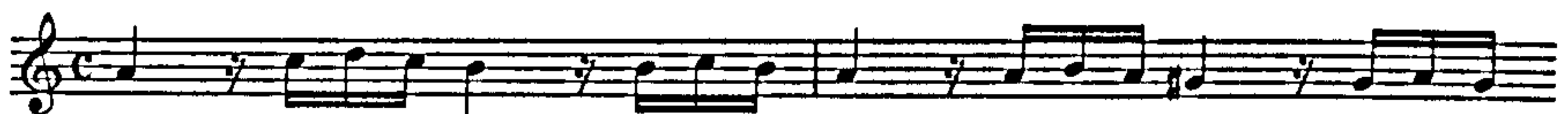
Example 5.15c Pachelbel, bars 22-23, alto



Example 5.16d Corelli, *Trio Sonata Op. 1, No. IV, Allegro*, cello, bar 5.



Example 5.15e Pachelbel, alto, bars 29-30



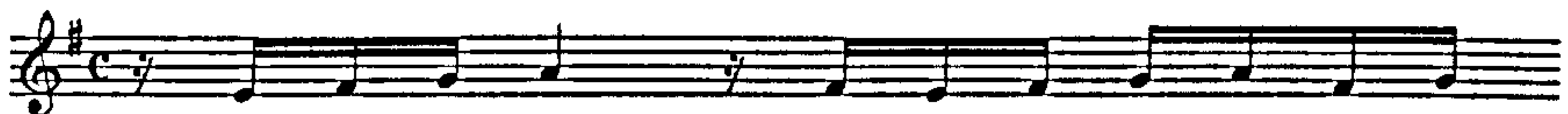
Example 5.15f Corelli, *Trio Sonata Op. 1, No. IV, Allegro*, 2nd violin, bars 25-26



Example 5.15g Pachelbel, bar 2, alto



Example 5.15h Corelli, *Trio Sonata Op. 3, No. XII, Allegro*, cello, bars 16-19



Example 5.15i Pachelbel, alto, bar 18



Example 5.15j Corelli, *Trio Sonata Op. 3, No. XII, Allegro*, 1st violin, bars 12-14



Example 5.15k Pachelbel, alto, bars 3-7



Example 5.15l Corelli, *Trio Sonata Op. 1, No. VII, Allegro*, cello, bars 30-32



Example 5.15m Pachelbel, alto, bars 30-32



Example 5.15n Corelli, *Concerto 2, 2nd Allegro* movement, 1st violin, bars 11-15

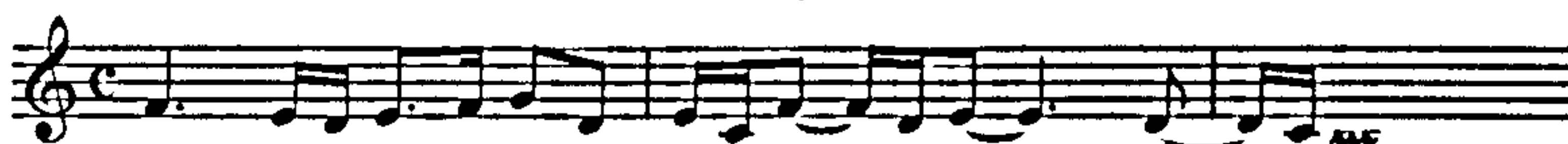
While the melodic shapes of the semiquaver groups in Pachelbel's organ chorales are often smooth 'vocal' shapes that Scheidt uses in his 'Imitatio violistica' passages,⁵⁰ they are as often characterised by wider intervals of the sort that come

⁵⁰ *Imitatio violistica* is something of a misnomer. As Mahrenholz points out (*Anhang* to his edition of Scheidt's *Tabulatura Nova* [Volume III, p 22, footnote 1]), disputing with Fischer (Adler 1924), the type of decoration that Scheidt uses does not derive from early string figuration translated on to the virginals, but is a style of keyboard ornamentation, the purpose of which is to give the impression of dynamic variability on instruments that are in reality incapable of this. Scheidt actually writes, in explanation of his direction '*Imitatio violistica*': 'When the notes, as they are here, are all drawn together [there is a picture of groups of semiquavers, not beamed together, all on the same note, slurred together in fours], what is intended is something special like viol players do when they draw the bow across the string. In the same way it is possible to achieve, by playing gently on the organ, regals, clavicembalo and other instruments, the really delightful and graceful sounds that the most accomplished viol players of the German nation produce as a matter of course; as a consequence of this I have become very partial to this manner of playing, and have made it my own. [*Wo die Noten, wie allhier, zusammen gezogen seind, ist solches eine besondere art, gleich wie die Violisten mit dem Bogen schleiffen zu machen pflegen. Wie dann solche Manier bey fürnehmen Violisten Deutscher*

from changing strings on stringed instruments. For instance, figures using the falling third followed by a rising fourth, fifth, sixth or octave gives a rhythmic impulse to a rising interval or scale (Examples 5.16 and 5.17).



Example 5.16 Corelli, *Concerto Grosso 5, Allegro* movement, 2nd violin, bars 40-44



Example 5.17 Pachelbel, *Christ, unser Herr*, bars 21-22, alto

This type of figure is more characteristic of string writing than vocal. Such techniques demonstrate Mattheson's dictum that 'vocal melody does not allow the kind of leaps that [an] instrumental one does', but also that Pachelbel, along with Vivaldi, knowing 'well enough to ban fiddle-leaps from his vocal pieces', was quite happy to insert them into his organ music.⁵¹ A comparison between the examples given from Pachelbel's chorale with the examples from Corelli's works will show all of these figures in use in contemporary string writing. Pachelbel's writing for the organ is idiomatically string writing. Does not a bass line like that of *Durch Adams Fall* (Example 5.18) shows how thoroughly Pachelbel has incorporated this idiomatic string writing into his organ style?



Example 5.18 Pachelbel, *Durch Adams Fall*, DTB 21, bass line, bars 41-4

Another feature of instrumental counterpoint that distinguishes it from vocal counterpoint is the length of the phrases. Singers need to breathe, whereas violinists

Nation, nich ungbreuchlich, gibt auch auff gelind schlagen Orgeln, Regalen, Clavicembalen und Instrumenten, einen recht lieblichen und anmutigen concentum, derentwegen ich dann solche Manier mit selbst gelieben lassen und angewehnet.] *Tabulatura Nova I*, p 262 [reproduced on p 159 in Vogel's edition]. That the notes are indicated in the diagram without any pitch representation means that the style has to do with articulation, and has nothing to do with the melodic shapes of the figurations to which it is applied.

⁵¹ Mattheson 1739, p 421.

can go on for ever (and organists, masters of ‘that breathless monster’, often do). Mattheson cites ‘most of those organists who have not themselves been singers’ as ‘lying sick in this hospital’.⁵² It must be conceded that Pachelbel’s counterpoint tends to be interminably full; rarely does he give rests to parts except where structural considerations drive him to it, and he does not write phrases with small rests in them (hence the feeling that *Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort* [DTB 25] is not by him). Nevertheless, when writing choral works, Pachelbel shows himself aware of the problem. His use of dense counterpoint in his organ works could then be viewed as an exploitation of the medium, as being characteristically instrumental; in this respect J. S. Bach followed his practice.

Such idiomatic ‘string’ writing, developed, as Bukofzer points out, as part of the package that created the ‘luxuriant counterpoint’ of the late Baroque,⁵³ gives Pachelbel’s pieces a modern air that those of Scheidemann and even Weckmann lack. Comparing Pachelbel’s use of these semiquaver figurations with Corelli’s, we find that the fact of *Allein Gott in der Höh’ sei Ehr’* being such a cornucopia of different figures is exceptional, even for Pachelbel. Most of his organ chorales use a far more limited array of figures. With Corelli the picture is yet more restrained. If a movement uses semiquaver embellishment, (and the majority in both the *Trio Sonatas* and the *Concerti Grossi* do not), then Corelli tends to use just one or two figures throughout a movement. Thus the two figures in Example 5.15e (page 200), in themselves unremarkable elements, appear as two of many in Pachelbel’s *Allein Gott*, whereas in Corelli’s *Concerto No 4*, Allegro (2nd movement), although there is unbroken semiquaver movement throughout the movement, these two figures are the only ones used. Indeed, Corelli can write a movement which uses just one such figure. The Allamanda from *Concerto 9* (Example 5.15b, page 200), where the *tirata*, although ‘just’ an ornament, has thematic significance, shows this.

Corelli tends to use the figures more in an ostinato fashion (Example 5.19).



Example 5.19 Corelli, *Concerto 1*, Allegro movement, 1st violin, bars 26-27.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Bukofzer 1948, pp 319 foll., and footnote 49 above on page 199.

Indeed, often with him they are not really figures at all, rather ostinati designed to fill out sequential harmonic patterns in the homophonic fast movements of his concerti. In the slower movements the figurations assume a more thematic role (e. g., *Concerto 8, Adagio*, opening bars), partly because these movements tend to be contrapuntal. But they can be thematic in fast movements too (e. g., Example 5.15b, *Allamanda* from *Concerto 9*). Pachelbel does not use *figure* in an ostinato fashion. The nearest he seems to come to it is in *Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr* (DTB 7), where the fugue subject is an ostinato figure. Yet the very unusual use of an ostinato figure for the subject of an introductory fughetta gives the game away that the piece is not by Pachelbel. Pachelbel in the organ chorales is always writing contrapuntal music, and has no need of spinning out long passages of simple harmonic progressions.

If it would sometimes be hard to describe Pachelbel's use of semiquaver figuration as thematic, however, quite often it is, and in a measure far beyond anything that Corelli did. Thus in *Durch Adam's Fall* (DTB 21) the bass part in bar 2 is something like a regular countersubject. Sometimes these figures are the diminution of the imminently arriving chorale line in fore-imitation [Example; *Ich ruf' zu dir* (DTB 37) final line]. Whether Pachelbel was influenced by Corelli or not we can describe his use of these *groppi* as an advance beyond Corelli's.

This string-like style of writing enriches the counterpoint enormously, giving energy to the lines and highlighting the harmonic movement. While Pachelbel uses it relatively sparingly (statistically viewed), it was to become ubiquitous with J. S. Bach. Nevertheless this should not detract from Pachelbel's achievement. We have already examined *Allein in der Höh' sei Ehr* as a good example of the technique. *Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein* (DTB 2) is an even more impressive example of this utilisation of 'string' writing in the organ chorales. The introductory fughetta certainly shows this 'string writing', but the unusual feature of this piece is that the whole of this fughetta is constructed using this material. This makes it one of the most effective pieces of counterpoint in the organ chorales. Up-beat figures (though nowhere the *suspirans* figure), syncopations, retarded suspensions, complementary figures, 'fiddle leaps', all give the piece a plasticity that approaches that of J. S. Bach's counterpoint. Striking also is the reversion in the chorale section to a more vocal type of decoration, though the harmonic adventurousness of this section

compensates for this and contrasts with the opening.

5.6 Figurenlehre

The semiquaver figuration that we have been discussing in Pachelbel's music has so far been viewed as the improvisatory embellishment of counterpoint, an improvisatory style arising from instrumental techniques, especially keyboard, from England, Holland and north Germany, further influenced by Italian string technique. Another influence on this style, however, is the vocal improvisatory routines that were developed in Germany in the service of the new Italian vocal style. The *figure* which were developed in this 'school' of singing were to become an integral part of the German Baroque musical language; the nomenclature of these *figure* became known as the *Figurenlehre*.⁵⁴ We see the influence of this in Pachelbel's music.

The simple passing note (*transitus*), and the preparation, suspension and resolution (*syncopatio, ligature*), known in the *Figurenlehre* as *figure fundamentali*,⁵⁵ were elements fundamental to the vocal *stile antico*⁵⁶ that found their way into the

⁵⁴ Buelow (Buelow, *New Grove*, article 'Figures, Theory of Musical', Volume 8, p 792) credits Schering with the first use of the term {in *Die Lehre von den musikalischen Figuren im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, in *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 21 (1908)} [Dietrich Bartel, *Musica Poetica*, Lincoln and London, 1997, p vii]. The term *Figur(en)* was first used (1676/78) by Printz 'for the motives comprising diminution' (Butt 1994, p 132). Bartel (in Bartel 1997), and Samuel (in Harold E. Samuel, *The Cantata in Nuremberg during the Seventeenth Century*, Ann Arbor, 1982, p 180), discuss thoroughly the philosophy and the practice of the *Figurenlehre*.

⁵⁵ Bartel 1997, p 132. This categorisation comes from Bernhard, of whom Bartel writes, quoting him: 'The *figurae fundamentales* are those "which are to be found in fundamental composition, or in the old style, no less than in the style employed today. There are two such: *ligature* and *transitus*". 'Superficiales' does not mean superficial, but rather comes from *super facere*, meaning based on or formed on the fundamental figures, and though they seem to break the rules, they have in fact "the old masters as their foundation". Bartel 1997, p 117.

⁵⁶ By *stile antico* I mean that strict vocal style deriving from the Netherlands as exemplified latterly by Palestrina's church music. Although this is to a certain extent an abstraction, created long after the event by theorists like Fux, nevertheless it represents a valid set of conventions that were recognised at the time. Glarean, in *Dodecachordon*, eulogises this style, called by him *Musica perfecta*, as one that, having reached its apogee in the music of Josquin, cannot be surpassed, merely imitated. (Leo Schrade, in *Monteverdi: Creator of Modern Music*, London, 1979, opens with a detailed analysis of this style in a chapter entitled 'The Perfect Art, a Classical Ideal in Music in the Sixteenth Century'.) While a theorist like Artusi could defend the essential and invariable validity of this style (Giovanni Maria Artusi, *Artusi, or The Imperfections of Modern Music*, Venice, 1600, in Murata, Margaret, (editor), *Strunk's Source Readings in Music History: Volume 4 – The Baroque Era*, New York/London, 1998, pp 18-26), it was Giovanni Galilei (father of the scientist, and the founder of the Florentine *Camerata*) who understood that the Franco-Flemish contrapuntal style was a historic phenomenon, the conventions of which were not natural and immutable, but artificial, historically determined and dispensable.

instrumental music we have been discussing; this '*stile antico*' counterpoint forms as it were the basic layer of the compositions we have been looking at, as has already been emphasised. In earlier times this 'layer' was generally not ornamented; Brown, for instance, draws attention to Josquin's objections to singers ornamenting his compositions.⁵⁷ The semiquaver figuration that developed around this *stile-antico* framework, however, whether out of the improvisatory practices of keyboard players, or in imitation of the tradition of vocal ornamentation developed in Italy in the later years of the sixteenth century, often broke the 'rules' of the old counterpoint;⁵⁸ indeed, as far as the singing traditions were concerned, the intention of this ornamentation was exactly to 'break the rules' for expressive purposes. This was in some ways the essence of the *stile nuovo*. The little groups of notes that were the currency of this style of embellishment (*figure corte*), ways of filling in skips, or staying on the same note melodically yet moving rhythmically, became stylised and were given names (derived from rhetoric) by the theorists who wrote the treatises that were such a feature of the German Baroque.

Monteverdi, even though he became the revolutionary composer who overturned the hegemony of this style, could deliberately confine himself to it when writing, for instance, his masses. A composer such as Schütz would have been aware of these conventions, would have taught them (under the title of *fundamentum compositionis*) and accepted their validity; there is thus a 'norm' against which his infringements of them for expressive purposes can be experienced, even though the style had long since been superseded. Even as late as Walther the importance of this *Fundament*, and the necessity of mastering it before adding something new to it (*inventio*) was still being emphasised. The *stile nuovo/seconda prattica* was seen as a departure from this *prima prattica* style. Even during the period when this *stile antico* was still the dominant style there was nevertheless much music that did not take cognisance of it, and we cannot know how far improvisatory practices (vocal and instrumental, especially keyboard) elaborated pieces in this style with elements that infringed its conventions.

⁵⁷ Brown 1976, p 75; Josquin is supposed to have said [Ahle 1704]; 'You ass, why do you add embellishments? If I had wanted them I would have written them myself. If you wish to improvise on finished compositions, make your own, but leave mine unimproved.' And composers did not confine their strictures only to counterpoint. Monteverdi (in his letter to Striggio [1616]), emphasising that for effective dramatic effect the music had to be 'written by one hand', lampoons an opera in which the singers wrote their own parts. (Murata 1998, p 156-7) What he means by this is (according to Vacchelli in Vacchelli 1995, p 45) is that 'there is no place in [Monteverdi's recitative style] for embellishments or charms, even in the cadences'. Thus Monteverdi sees the inveterate habit of singers of embellishing their lines as standing in the way of what the composer wishes to say.

⁵⁸ In case exception might be taken to this talk of rules and the breaking thereof, I should point out that no less than Burmeister (the father of *Figurenlehre*?) talks about 'our observations [which we should] gather for future generations.....in the form of rules and regulations....' (Bartel 1997, p 94, citing the Foreward to *Musica autoschediastike*) That in the past theorists especially had talked of rules should cause no surprise. Theorists like Artusi defended the inviolability of the '*leggi inviolabili* of the Netherlanders' (Schrade 1950, p 44) from the point of view that they were somehow natural phenomena, ignorance of which created music that simply did not make sense; in doing so they were taking cognisance of the undoubted fact that 'listener's' expectations had become so ingrained that the grammar of this style remained a 'given' against which 'unobservances' could be used for expressive purposes for at least a century after the style had become obsolescent.

The theorists who wrote these treatises were mostly Cantors,⁵⁹ and the purpose behind their treatises was the teaching of singing, using for this purpose particularly the technique of ornamenting vocal lines extempore.⁶⁰ The figures we are dealing with here are thus primarily vocal, extempore, and allied to a text; they are a means of expressing the text, usually conventionally, often in the way that the madrigalists had done using simple and obvious word painting; this technique was of Italian provenance. While many Cantors throughout the seventeenth century ignored these developments and continued to utilise a 'plain' manner of singing that all but excluded extempore ornamentation, the most advanced musical minds in Germany embraced the possibilities afforded by the new style, and composers incorporated into their music these figures that had at first evolved from improvisatory practices, turning them eventually into an integral and essential element of the late Baroque musical style.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Some of the most prominent *Kantor*/theorists, along with their most important writings, were:
Michael Praetorius (1571-1621), *Kapellmeister* to the court at Wolfenbüttel. *Syntagma musicum* (1614-20)

Joachim Burmeister (1564-1629), *Kantor* of the *Marienkirche* in Rostock. *Musica autoschediastike* (1601); *Musica Poetica* (1606)

Johannes Nucius (1556-1620), Cistercian monk. *Musices Poeticae*

Johann Andreas Herbst (1588-1666), *Kapellmeister* at Frankfurt (a. M) and Nürnberg. *Musica Practica* (1642/3), *Musica Poetica* (1643)

Athanasius Kircher (1601-1680), professor at the Jesuit College in Rome. *Musurgia Universalis* (1650)

Christoph Bernhard (1628-1692), *Kapellmeister* to the court at Dresden. *Tractatus* (1660) and *Bericht*

Wolfgang Caspar Printz (1641-1717), *Kantor* to the Counts of Promnitz in Sorau. *Phrynis Mytilenaeus* (1696)

Johann Georg Ahle (1651-1706), organist at St. Blasien, Mühlhausen (J. S. Bach's predecessor). *Sommer-Gespräche* (1695 at two-yearly intervals)

Tomáš Baltazar Janovka (1669-1741), organist at the Tyn Church, Prague. *Clavis Thesaurum* (1701)

Mauritius Johann Vogt (1669-1730), Cistercian monk. *Conclave thesauri magnae artis musicae* (1719)

Johann Gottfried Walther (1684-1748), organist at St. Peter and Paul Church, Weimar. *Praecepta der musicalischen Composition* (1706), *Musicalisches Lexicon* (1732)

Johann Mattheson (1681-1764), director of the Hamburg Opera. *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739)

Meinrad Spiess (1683-1761), Benedictine monk. *Tractatus musicus* (1745)

Johann Adolf Scheibe (1708-1776), journalist, *Kapellmeister* to the Margrave of Brandenburg-Culmbach. *Compendium musices theoretico-practicum usw.* (unpublished)

Johann Nikolaus Forkel (1749-1818), director of music to the University of Göttingen.

⁶⁰ Butt points out that Praetorius 'makes no distinction between the art of singing *per se* and the art of ornamentation'. Butt 1994, p 26.

⁶¹ This is the essence of Butt's thesis (Butt 1994, Chapter 5, pp 121-165). What started as infringement of the 'rules' became so accepted, so essential for expressive effect, that the 'rules' were changed; composers' sense of what was right and wrong changed, the old counterpoint lost its

It would be a mistake, however, to see the *Figurenlehre* as a unified theoretical concept that explained every manifestation of these figures, as some modern writers have tried to do; each author gives a different list of figures, calls by the same name figures that were often different from those of other authors, and, if he ascribes any affective meanings to them, he may well not be in agreement with others about this. Even so, as Bartel says, ‘the fact remains that numerous German Baroque authors described compositional devices which deviated from the ordinary or regular manner of musical expression with terminology either borrowed from rhetoric or formulated to emulate such terminology’.⁶² We can thus conceive of a teaching, a doctrine, the basic principle of which was that figures were utilised in the service of the expression of the text, and later of the affects of the (not necessarily vocal) music, a teaching that, even if haphazard and inconsistent in detail in the naming and ascribing meaning to the figures, saw them nevertheless as a form of currency.

When we go on to describe some of these figures we must therefore bear in mind that the examples we show are specific examples of more general and unsystematically defined categories, and that these specific forms developed over time and differed between authors. Some examples of such *figure corte*, here chosen because of their occurrence in Pachelbel’s music, are the *accento/accentus* ([dotted] note followed by short melodically conjunct note), *tremolo* (slow trill), *circolo mezzo* (turn), *suspirans* (final three semiquavers of a group of four, preceded by a rest, or more broadly, any figure starting with a rest on a main beat of the bar), *tirata* and *tirata mezza* (scale of octave or just four notes), *messanza* (various little figures involving skips as well as runs), and *superjectio* (a chain of echappées). Examples of all these can be found in the chorales we have examined. In my examples I show also where the particular form of the figure is to be found in the literature.

position as the lodestone of grammatical probity. Butt quotes Kuhnau’s realisation that his sense of grammatical rectitude had changed (*ibid*, p 149), and Walther’s advising that it made no sense to condemn written versions of ‘infringements’ that were allowable every day in actual performance (*ibid*, p 155). Equally crucial, however, was the fact that composers started writing figurations and ornaments that could not have been extemporised because they were so subtly related to the harmonic background that no extemporiser could have worked them out on the spur of the moment. From that it was but a short step to the figurations becoming an integral element of the style, turning from being the decoration of an underlying framework into being an essential part of that framework.

⁶² Bartel 1997, p ix.

Example 5.20 *Figure corte*



(a) *Accento* Walther



(b) *Accento* Pachelbel, DTB 10, bar 28



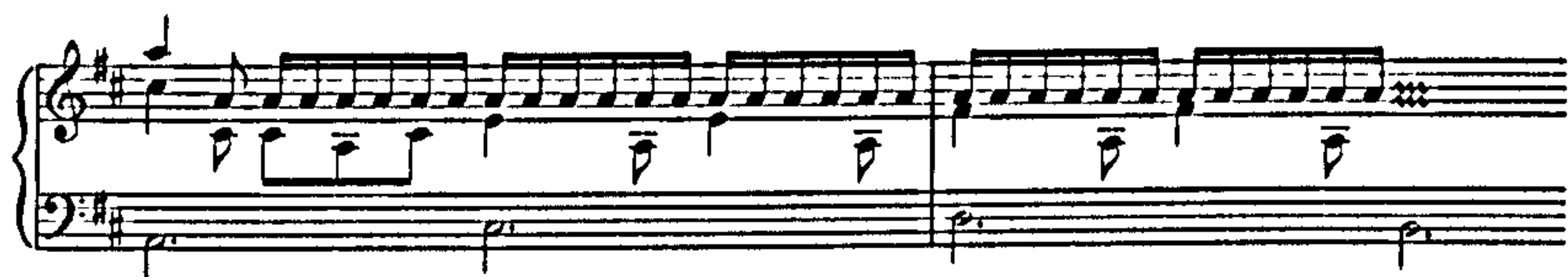
(c) *Tremolo, trillo* Praetorius, Printz, et al



(d) *Tremolo, trillo* Pachelbel, DTB 6, bar 21



(e) *Tremolo, trillo* Pachelbel, DTB 66, bar 27



(f) *Trillo* Pachelbel, DTB 57, bars 15 -16⁶³



(g) *Groppo* Mattheson



(h) *Groppo* (and *suspirans*) Pachelbel, DTB 6, bar 2

⁶³ *Tremolo* and *trillo* are somewhat interchangeable, but describe two figures. The alternation of two notes (the modern trill or shake) was perhaps always more idiomatic of keyboard instruments than of voices; but an 'excessive' vocal vibrato that involves alteration in pitch as well as in volume can come to resemble a trill. The reiterated note on the same pitch, a cadential ornament very prominent in the works of Monteverdi and his contemporaries, called (in Germany) only *trillo*, became also a figure in its own right, along with the *multiplicatio*, the same figure but deployed in certain circumstances, namely, when a passing dissonant note is reiterated. (Bartel 1997, p 324)



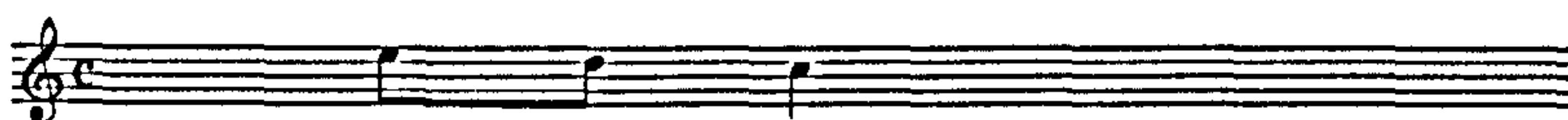
(i) *Circolo* Printz, Vogt, Walther



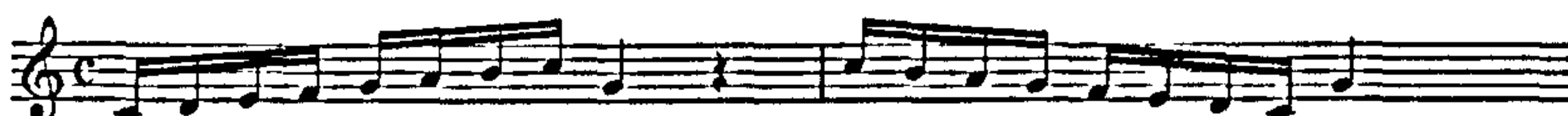
(j) *Circolo mezzo*



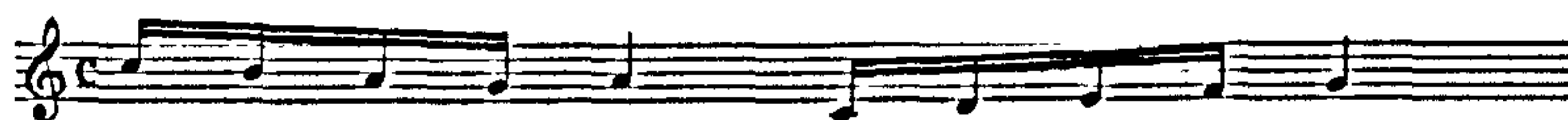
(k) *Circolo mezzo (and anapaest)* Pachelbel, DTB 57, bar 22



(l) *Transitus*



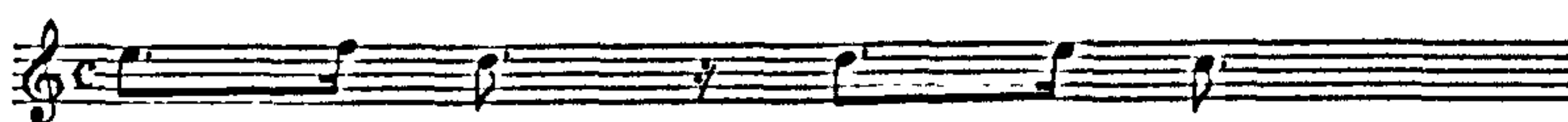
(m) *Tirata (perfecta)* Printz



(n) *Tirata mezza (defectiva)* Printz



(o) *Tirata* Pachelbel, DTB 52, bars 25-29



(p) *Echappée (= accento)*



(q) *Superjectio (accento)* Walther



(r) *Superjectio (and Tirata mezza, suspirans, circolo mezzo)*
Pachelbel, DTB 6, bars 25-27. (*Superjectio* 'inverted' = *subsumptio*, never
used by Pachelbel)



(s) *Messanza* (3 examples), [Printz]; *anapaest* on to the beat, dactyl after
the beat, dactyl on the beat, *suspirans* [Williams]



(t) *Messanza* Pachelbel, *Werde munter, mein Gemüte*, Varatio 2



(u) *Anapaest* on to the beat Pachelbel, DTB 7



(v) *Suspirans, Messanza* Pachelbel, DTB 61



(w) *Tmesis* Pachelbel, DTB 6 [The interjection of a rest in the flow of a
phrase - Vogt]

Example 5.20 Examples of various *figure*.

Although such *figure corte*, according to various theorists,⁶⁴ did in certain circumstances stand for something specific, often they were just figuration without any specific meaning, or meaning that could, as it were, be denied. We can see from Example 5.20 that many of the figures named in the *Figurenlehre* are present in the passagework in Pachelbel's chorales. The crucial point at issue in all this is whether they were employed deliberately, and whether they carry the significance (if any) that was assigned to them by the *Figurenlehre*. To take just the example of the *figura circolo*, this might just be an as-it-were accidental figure of three notes going up and down. Nevertheless, although one might have thought it would be easy enough to find such a figure anywhere in the long passages of figuration in Pachelbel's organ chorales, in its 'text-book' form, as given in Example 5.20i and 5.20j (page 210), it turns out to be most elusive; nevertheless, it does occur. For instance, in *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott* (DTB 24), in bar 8, the *figura* can be seen:



Example 5.21 Pachelbel, *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott* (DTB 24), bars 8-9, shows both *tirata* and *circolo mezzo*.

The significance of the *circolo mezzo* figure (called also *circulatio* or *kyklosis*) comes from its standing for the world, or a star, or any circular motion. The example Samuel gives of it is from Schütz, where it is used to illustrate *Stern* [star],⁶⁵ shows, however, a very ordinary little figure that stands out only by virtue of its being the only feature of interest in a monotone-like phrase. I think it has no such significance in DTB 24. This short figure is certainly to be found also in other organ chorales (*Wir glauben all' an einen Gott*, [DTB 66], bars 2, 11, 16, etc.) but does not stand out there either, seeming to arise by accident from the natural development of the passagework.

⁶⁴ Thus Kircher (*fuga* 'serves to express successive actions'); Janovka (*fuga* is a musical passage which is furnished with a *fuga* according to the requirements of the text, such as "*Fuge dilecte mi*"); Walther (*Fuga* also refers to a musical passage which is employed when the words indicate a flight...), show examples of how a *figura* 'means something' according to the writings of the theorists (all quotations cited in Bartel 1997, pp 288-289). Herbst seems to be the most prescriptive in assigning meanings to specific *figure*.

⁶⁵ Samuel 1982, p 183.

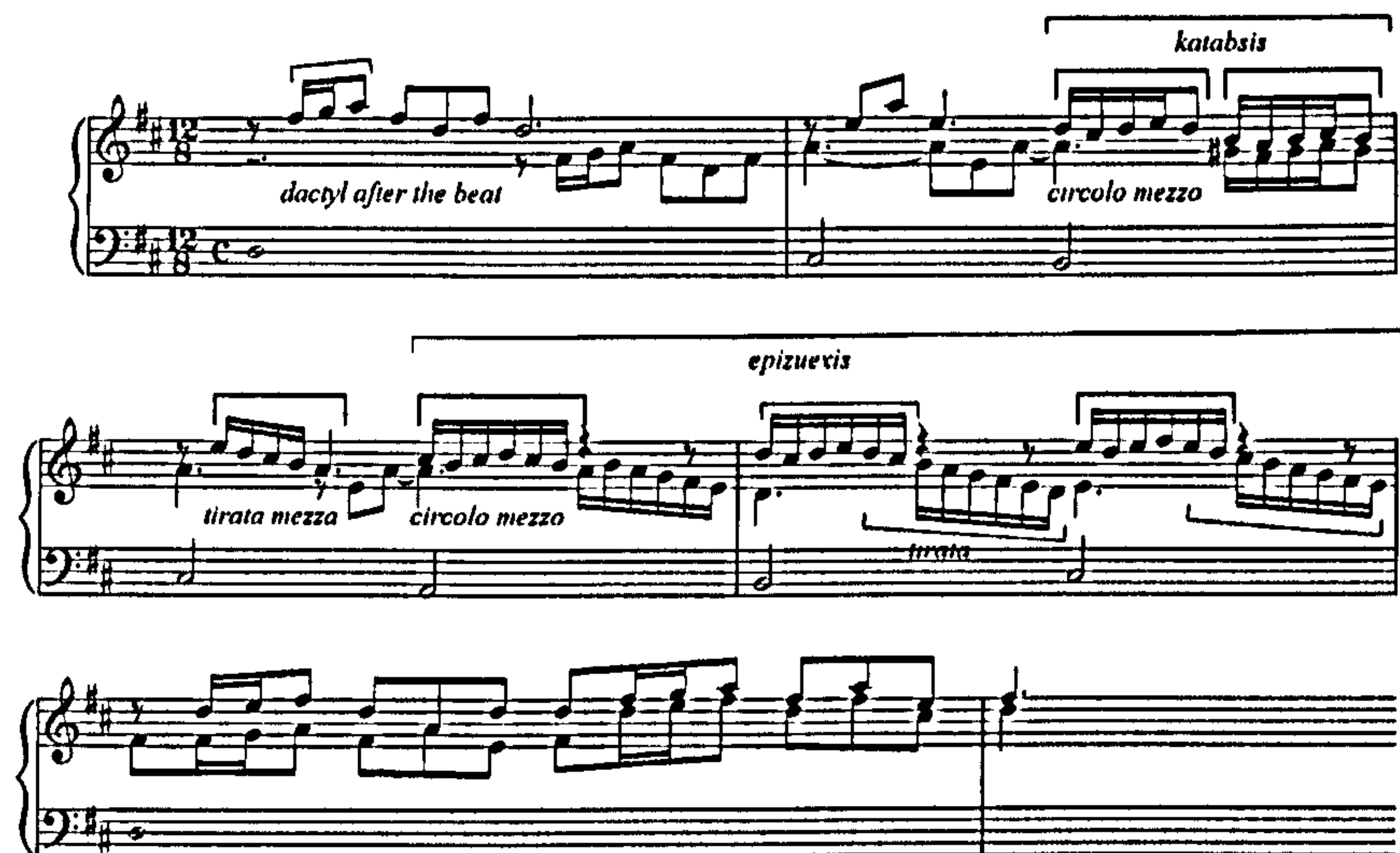


It is noteworthy that the figurations that Pachelbel uses, sometimes almost like *ostinati*, despite the seeming richness of the examples given above, are only rarely specific *figure*; he seems to avoid writing such figures, and when they do arise they do so only accidentally in the course of the musical development, as in DTB 24 and 66, and I think mean little, are just figures. Further, the figures featured in the list above are mostly figures, *figure corte*, that do not carry any specific meaning in the *Figurenlehre*.⁶⁶ Further, the routines of instrumental improvisation might well have brought up figures that are similar to these vocally inspired figures; scales and runs, and various types of trills are to be found in most keyboard music, this not necessarily meaning that they were borrowed from the vocally based elements of the *Figurenlehre*. It seems to me that the significance of this is that Pachelbel's methods of extemporising were rooted more in the instrumental traditions inherited from Sweelinck and Scheidt, methods similar to those that the north-German organists used in playing intabulations, than in the *figure*.⁶⁷ It might be said in this respect that Pachelbel was more influenced by the English/Dutch/north German tradition than by the Italian.

Even so, just occasionally in Pachelbel's music *figure* are used in a systematic manner, and when they are they might carry some specific meaning. In *Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her*, DTB 57 (5.22, page 214), for instance, each line of the chorale is treated quite distinctively. The *circolo mezzo figura* is used in the treatment of lines one, two and four of the chorale melody, and is highlighted by the rhythmic form it assumes and by an ostinato-like re-iteration of it whenever it appears:

⁶⁶ The theorists distinguished between those figures that were just musical decorative figures with no specific emotional significance, even though they belonged to the *Figurenlehre* (Printz – *variationes*; Mattheson – *figura Cantiones* or *Manieren*; Vogt and Spiess – *figurae simplices*) and the musical-rhetorical figures that did have specific emotional significance (Printz – *figurae*; Mattheson – *figurae cantus*; Vogt – *figurae ideales*; Spiess – *figurae*). Bartel 1997, p 121.

⁶⁷ I hope to show in the section '5.8, Pachelbel's organ chorales as exemplars of earlier styles of treating a *cantus firmus*' (p 242) that indeed Pachelbel is the heir to the *instrumentally* improvised figurations of England/Holland/north Germany, but also to those of Italy. As Brown says, (Brown 1976, p 61); 'instruments are more adept at skips than singers and can improvise faster passage work, so that vocal ornamentation must necessarily be slower and largely restricted to stepwise motion.'



Example 5.22 Pachelbel, *Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her*, (DTB 57), opening bars, shows the *figure* used in an ostinato-like manner

I think that there can be little doubt that the *figure* are being used here in a deliberate manner: the *tirate* might be the whoops of joy coming from the shepherds; the *circolo mezzo* figures suggest that it is the world that God is coming down to;⁶⁸ the imitation in the first bar represents ‘as in heaven, so on earth’; the *katabasis* is the ‘coming of God down to earth’; the *epizeuxis* is either the elevation of earth to heaven, the ascension, or some similar idea. Later in the piece there is the striking use of another *figura*, the *trillo*, rapidly reiterated notes. Nolte thinks that this is the imitation of a bird call, but it could also have a more esoteric meaning (the banging in of the nails on the cross, for instance, as in *O Mensch, beweine dein’ Sünde groß* [DTB54] – see page 276).⁶⁹

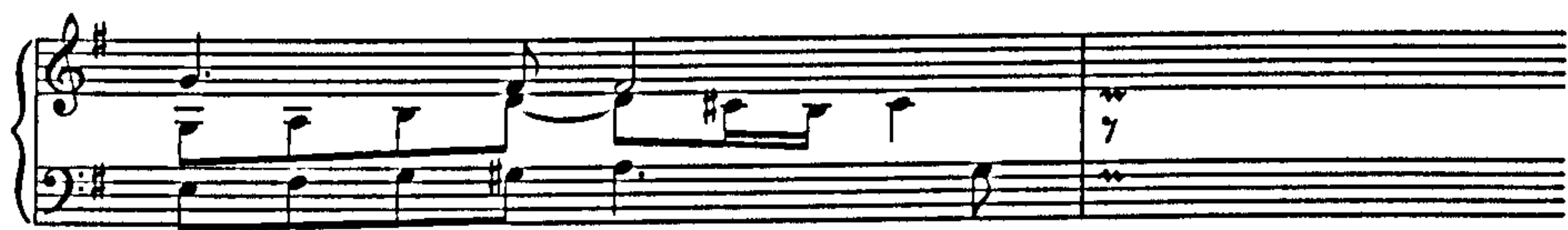
While these *figure corte* are a part of the armoury of effects, originating in extempore embellishment of vocal lines, deployed initially by instrumentalists in an

⁶⁸ There seems to have been some controversy in the definition of *circolo mezzo* and *gruppo*. While some authors see no distinction between them (Brossard), most quibble over whether the first and third notes, or the second and fourth, should be the same, and whether the figure is repeated immediately or not (Walther). The etymology of the term *gruppo* is also disputed, some translating *gruppo* as roller or ball (Printz calls it *Kugel*), others seeing the word as coming from *grappo*, meaning grape. Whether *gruppo* or *circolo mezzo*, ball or grape, the significance of the ornament in this case to mean ‘terrestrial ball’ (Addison) seems reinforced by this argument. Bartel 1997, pp 290-293.

⁶⁹ Nolte thinks the piece is an example of a common type of harpsichord piece making use of bird calls, such as Daquin’s *Le Coucou* and Poglietti’s *Capriccio per la rossignolo sopra il Ricercar*. He advances the thesis that the two birds ‘featured’ here are just these two, the cuckoo and the nightingale. Who is to say he is wrong? Like all symbolic creations, the piece can be operating on two symbolic levels at the same time; that it is a ‘bird’ piece does not mean that it is not also symbolic in the way I have suggested. Nolte 1954, p 174-175.

improvisatory situation to decorate the harmony, some of them, along with other much more striking, subtle and complicated effects, did indeed come eventually to have specific conventional significance. Composers, particularly Schütz and Schein, working under Italian influence, employed these effects in their vocal works in the service of the expressivity of the affect of the words. Part of their striking effect was the fact that they infringed the conventions of the *stile antico* counterpoint (a flagrant solecism was in itself a device called *catachresis*). Alongside the *figure corte* such effects as *mutatio toni* (chromatic shift), *anabasis* and *katabasis* (a generally rising or falling texture), *pathopoeia* (pathetic chromatically inflected counterpoint), *exclamatio* (melodic rising sixth among many other possibilities), *antistachon* (inverted pedal with moving bass), *faux bourdon* (parallel 6/3 chords), *aposiopesis* (sudden silence to symbolise death), *epizeuxis* (sequential passage) and *heterolepsis* (the sudden migration of a melodic line to another implied or actual part, usually by skip to a dissonance that might have emerged as a passing note in that other line) can also be found in Pachelbel's organ chorales.

Example 5.23 Some examples of *figure*



(a) *Mutatio toni* Pachelbel, Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein



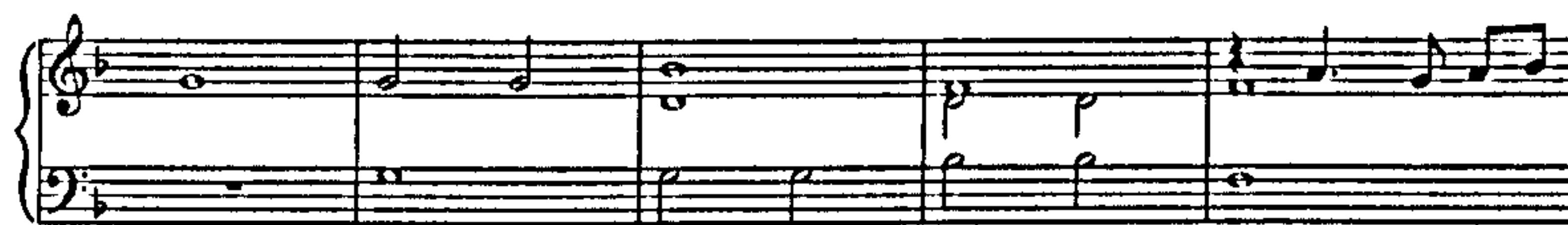
(b) *Faux bourdon* Burmeister



(c) *Faux bourdon* Pachelbel, Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein



(d) *Katabasis* Pachelbel, *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein*



(e) *Fuga* Burmeister



(f) *Fuga* Pachelbel, *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein*



(g) *Heterolepsis*

Walther



(h) *Heterolepsis* Pachelbel, DTB 66, bars 47-49



(i) *Heterolepsis* Pachelbel, *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein*

These more dramatic of the *figure*, although still classed together with the *figure corte* as *figure superficiali* in contradistinction to the *figure fondamentali*, came by convention to stand for something particular. While there is no doubt of the

effectiveness of their use in the vocal works of Schütz and Schein (among others), nor of the extravagance (later to become associated with the term Baroque) with which these composers deployed them, in Pachelbel's vocal works these emotionally laden effects are used much more sparingly. When we meet them in the organ chorales, are we (as Schweitzer, for instance, would in Bach's music⁷⁰) to draw the conclusion that Pachelbel is illustrating the words associated with the melodies? As Carter has pointed out, specific musical devices (and things such as particular keys or modes) that came to have affective associations could nonetheless still be used for purely musical reasons without the composer's wishing to invoke the accompanying affect.⁷¹ Erring on the side of scepticism is perhaps in order here.

Nevertheless, rather more than with the *figure corte*, Pachelbel seems to utilise these devices in the organ chorales to illustrate the (unheard) words of the text. The chorale *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein* (Matthaei III, p 46) is, for all its modest dimensions, full of such devices. Just before the entry of the *cantus firmus* there is a particularly striking descending sequence (bars 5-7). This *katabasis/epizeuxis*⁷² could be illustrative of our falling into deepest need (the descent) and imploring the Lord (the repetition). These would both be examples of *hypotyposis*, that is, word painting not specifically sanctioned by the conventions of *stile antico* counterpoint.⁷³ So although both *katabasis* and *epizeuxis* could both have a much more subtle significance, here they are used for simple word painting.⁷⁴ In bar 15 there is a pair of descending 6/3 chords on the strong beats. This touch of *faux bourdon*⁷⁵ underpins

⁷⁰ Schweitzer (Schweitzer 1911, Volume 2, Chapters XXI-XXIII, pp 25-122) devotes a considerable portion of his book to what he calls 'pictorial and symbolic representation'.

⁷¹ Carter (Carter and Butt 2005), p 176; 'Syntax or Semantics'.

⁷² Speiss and Vogt suggest that *katabasis* is simply a descending phrase. Others (Kircher, Janovka and Walther) emphasise that it expresses feelings of debasement, servility or humility; some of these characterise it as a *chromatically* descending phrase, like *passus duriusculus*. (Bartel 1997, p 215) The essential element of *epizeuxis* is emphatic repetition (Ahle, Walther). Bartel cites only these two musical authors, having to rely on non-musical rhetoricians for his other examples. Samuel cites Herbst (who does not feature in Bartel's list) as saying that sequential repetition is a definite feature of this figure. (Samuel 1982, p 185)

⁷³ Again Bartel quotes non-musical rhetoricians; the basic idea is that some element of the text is illustrated through the music 'vividly and realistically'. (Bartel 1997, p 307) Samuel, quoting Herbst, places *katabasis* and the opposite, *anabasis*, 'within the *hypotyposis* group', which he defines as 'containing all types of word painting and imitation of sound'. (Samuel 1982, p 182)

⁷⁴ *Katabasis*, for instance, besides illustrating 'going down', or 'falling', could also mean 'depravity', 'falling into sin'; so here our falling into need has possibly arisen from our falling into sin. In a more total way, the infringements of the 'rules' could symbolise 'going astray'. (Samuel 1982, p 182)

⁷⁵ Almost all the writers mention *faux bourdon*, emphasising that the 'false' progression is the parallel fourths, justified only by the bass. There is no mention of the emotional significance of the technique

that part of the melody that has the words ‘*wissen nicht wo*’ (we know not where). *Faux bourdon* was understood to stand for betrayal, falsehood, forsakenness. Another passage of *faux bourdon* appears at the end (bars 26-27), culminating in a most striking IIIb chord on the word ‘*Angst*’ [fear]. This chord is so unusual as almost to sound wrong, but is perhaps so written to form the end of a chain of ascending 6/3s, to keep the *faux bourdon* going and to illustrate the word. In bars 11-12 there is a cadence at the end of the first line of the melody. What is unusual here and not found anywhere else in the organ chorales, is the momentary unison. My view is that this illustrates the word ‘*allein*’ (only, sole) which is to be found in this place in the second verse. In bar 17 a series of imitative entries starts (*fuga*),⁷⁶ forming also a rising sequence (*anabasis*), illustrates in verse 2 ‘*dich rufen an, o treuer Gott*’ (we call to thee, dearest Lord). The repetition involved in imitation is an obvious example of *expizeuxis*. But also reinforcing the idea of calling, there is in bar 16, just before the imitation in rising sequence starts, underneath the words ‘*zusammen insgemein*’ (all together [we call to thee]), a rising sixth (*exclamatio*).⁷⁷ While this is not specially highlighted, it is the only rising sixth in the whole piece, and starts the only phrase in the lower parts that starts on a beat; all the other phrases in the accompaniment of the chorale section start with a *suspirans* figure (a sigh). Further, each entry of this rising semiquaver figure starts with a rest, a kind of sigh, something unusual for the rest of the piece. Although this is not a *suspirans*⁷⁸ as such, it comes from the same stable, *suspiratio*, figures that generate a sighing affect by interrupting the flow of the phrase with rests, as happens here.

from any of the writers quoted by Bartel (Bartel, 1997, pp 271-277). Samuel calls attention to its use in Schütz’s and Kreiger’s music to suggest ‘falseness’. (Samuel 1982, p 218)

⁷⁶ Walther *Lexicon*, cited in Bartel 1997, p 209, suggests that *fuga* is used whenever the idea of flight is in the text.

⁷⁷ *Exclamatio* is a very wide concept. Praetorius mentions it, defining it as the decoration of a series of descending semibreves by making them into dotted minims and crotchets; the shorter notes ‘are more affective’. (Butt 1994, p 73.) This could also be describing a series of *accenti*. For the figure in the form of a rising sixth, Walther is the source: *Lexicon*, quoted in Bartel 1997, p 268. The idea of this comes from an exclamation [Vogt suggests *O, proh dolor*]; Walther says: ‘This can be realised very appropriately in music through an upward-rising minor sixth.’ Our example is admittedly a major sixth.

⁷⁸ *Figure suspirans* is defined by Walther (and by Printz): it is ‘like a *figure corta* except that, instead of the first longer note [he is describing a dactyl], it has a pause half its duration, followed by a note of equal duration to the other two notes. *Lexicon*, and *Phrynis Mytilenaeus*, quoted in Bartel 1997, p 394. The idea of the *suspiration* in general is poetically evoked by Kircher when he quotes “Like as the hart desireth the water brooks, so panteth my soul after Thee, O God.” [Ps. 42] The essence is the rest in an accented position. *Ibid*.

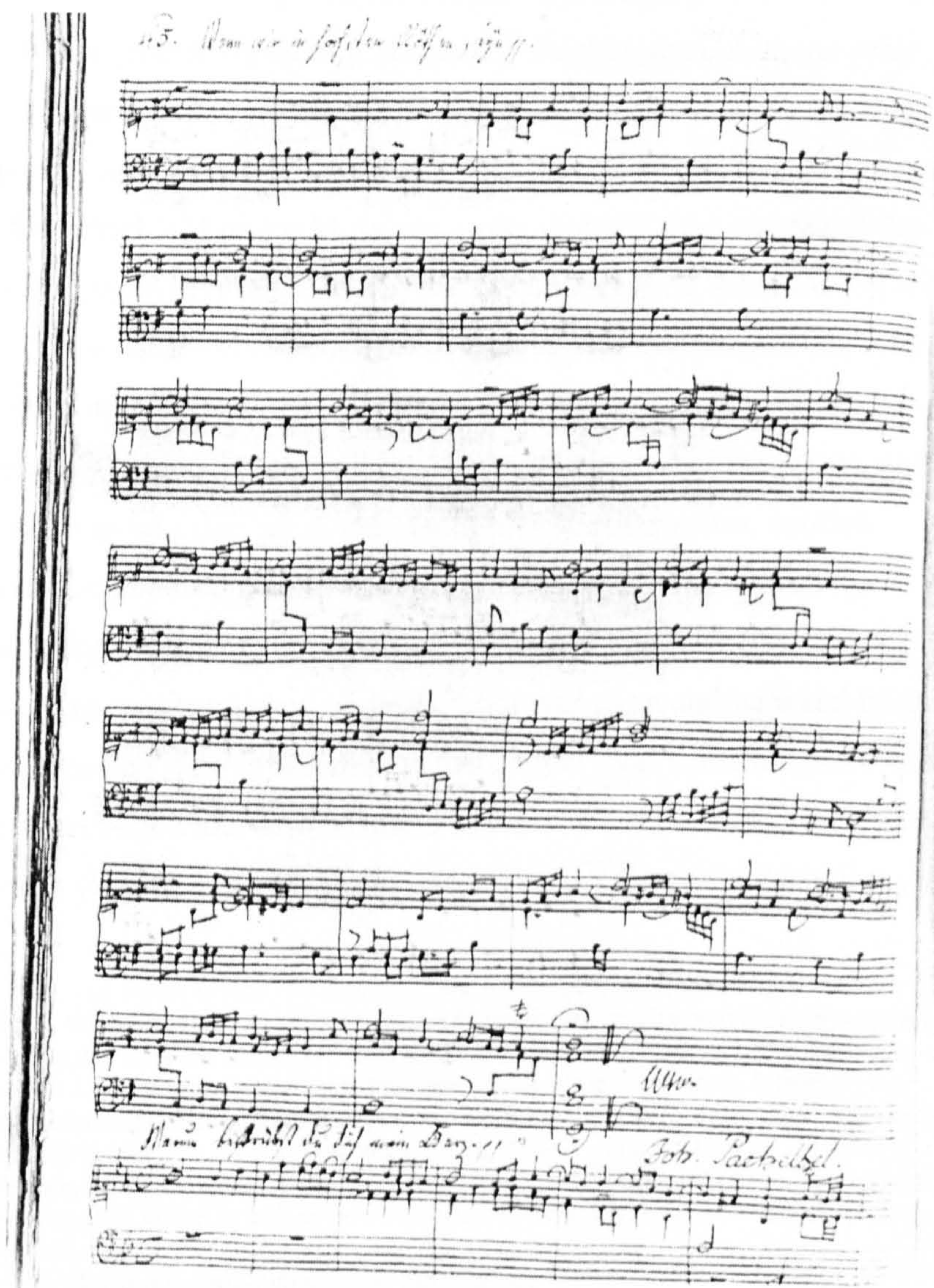


Plate 14 Manuscript D-B Mus. MS 30245, p 45, shows Pachelbel, *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein* (Matthaei III, p 46); note Seiffert's pencilled ascription and the pithy 'ungedruckt' [not printed]. Matthaei's photograph in *Winterthur Bibliotheken*. (By kind permission of the Stadtsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, and Winterthur Libraries)

Similar examples of the use of the musical-rhetorical figures can be found in other organ chorales. In *Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund* (DTB 15), there is an example of *mutatio toni*, a chromatic alteration of a note, something that strikes us immediately as foreign to the *stile-antico* motet style of Palestrina that the piece evokes (bars 20 and 68). Besides illustrating perhaps the idea of Christ's hanging from the cross, this chromatic shift was a general signal of grief, pain.⁷⁹ Further, the chromatic scale itself is a specific *figura*, known as *passus duriusculus*, translated as a 'hard step'. Famous examples of its use are Dido's lament from Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas* and the *Crucifixus* from Bach's B minor Mass, examples that will give an idea of the emotional world the *figura* evokes.⁸⁰ In *Warum betrübst du dich, mein Herz* (DTB 60) there is this characteristic chromatic theme used as a countersubject (actually an idea first thought of in relation to this chorale by J. C. Bach – see No. 44 of 44 *Choräle*).⁸¹ Pachelbel obviously means it here as an illustration of the words, as he does when he uses it in an extravagant manner in his chorale partitas, entitled collectively *SterbensGedancken*, all of which have one variation in which the chromatic scale is exploited. Dietrich says that this shows that Pachelbel did not share the then current 'positive' view of death,⁸² but was riven and wracked by the experience. The opposing view is that this 'pathetic style' was something of a cliché that a composer felt obliged to use somewhere or other in a set of such variations, without necessarily wishing to express pain and anguish.⁸³ Certainly Pachelbel may

⁷⁹ Samuel 1982, p 185. The figure means 'change of mode'; this could be effected by extending the ambitus (i. e. changing the mode from its authentic form to its plagal, or vice-versa) or by answering a motive in one mode fugally with the same motive in another mode, but not using notes foreign to the first mode, this being a device to regularise fugal practice. By the time of Walther, however, the introduction of chromatic notes had become the pre-eminent characteristic of this figure. The device in this form had initially meant a change from a 'major' to a 'minor' version (or vice-versa) of a species of fifth. Walther, however, understands the device in terms of 'modern' chromatic harmony used for expressive purposes, which is indeed how it is used in the organ chorale under discussion. Bartel 1997, pp 334-339.

⁸⁰ Bartel 1997, pp 357-358, and the following entry, *pathopoeia*.

⁸¹ Spitta points this out in Spitta 1898, Volume 1, p 121.

⁸² Dietrich 1932. It is a separate thing to say that in this instance Pachelbel expresses grief from saying that he is expressing his own grief. In Baroque times it was understood that the task of music was to present, even to engender affects in an 'objective' way; this is grief, feel it! It did not see its task as presenting personal sentiments in a subjective way; it did not say: this is the grief I feel. By the time of Mattheson this had changed; he expected to learn how to express an affect from having experienced it himself at first hand, rather than engineering it by cold-blooded calculation. Bartel 1997, p 33, p 34.

⁸³ Compare Pachelbel's chorale partitas with that on *Jesu, meine Freude* by Zachow. If you didn't know the piece was by Zachow you would think it a lost partita by Pachelbel, so similar is it in every way, down to the 'pathetic' variation (*Variation 9*). Zachow, *Sämtliche Werke für Tasteninstrumente*, Edition Breitkopf, Wiesbaden, 1966, pp 19-25.

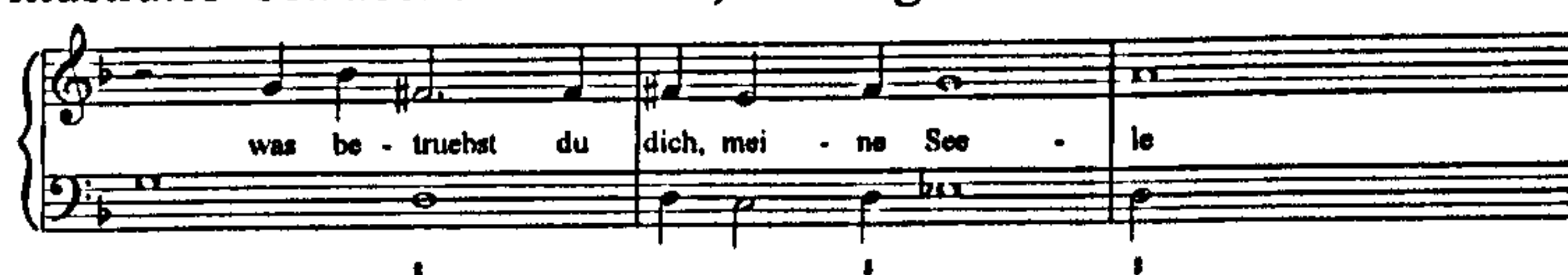
have used this *passus duriusculus* figure in his fugue in D minor (No. 18 in ‘Fugues’ in DTB IV/1 [Dover DTB reprint, p 58]) simply as a ‘gesture that might simply derive from standard syntactical procedures’;⁸⁴ nevertheless, this style of treatment of the chromatic scale could be used for pathetic effect, and is called *pathopoeia*.

Related to *passus duriusculus* is the *saltus duriusculus* (a hard leap), a good example of that being the opening of the *Ricercar* theme from Bach’s Musical Offering. It is quite possible to believe that the opening of Pachelbel’s chorale *Ich hab’ mein’ Sach’ Gott heimgestellt* (DTB 36) displays, with its rising diminished fourth, an example of this figure that is typical, certainly; that is derived from the pre-existent chorale melody, certainly, but nevertheless is an example of the use of the figure which might have some bearing on the words of the chorale.⁸⁵ In this case the chorale was originally written with the F sharp, perhaps an example of *Figurenlehre* at work in the composition of a chorale melody. Interesting, however, are those cases where the modal shape of the original melody involving the ‘flattened’ seventh has been altered by the seventh’s being sharpened. Thus melodies such as *Nun komm der Heiden Heiland* and *Christ lag in Todesbanden*, severe in their modality in the original versions, take on a Baroque expressivity in their new guise, come to resemble *Ich hab’ mein’ Sach’*. Pachelbel does not change these melodies, though the bowdlerised version of his *Christ lag in Todesbanden* (BWV Anh. 17) does.

A strange occurrence for Pachelbel is the place in *Der Tag, der ist so freudenreich*, (DTB 18, bar 43), where, at the end of the fifth line of the chorale, on d², the *cantus firmus* breaks off. The remarkable thing about this is that the note in question has become, harmonically speaking, a suspension, that should either be resolved on to the third beat of the bar, or be carried on through the third beat and resolved on the fourth, by going down to c². Admittedly the circumstances are not orthodox, in that the suspension starts life as a consonance on a main beat of the bar, but becomes

⁸⁴ Carter (Carter and Butt 2005), p 176.

⁸⁵ Samuel (Samuel 1982, p 187) gives an example from Schütz where the falling diminished fourth illustrates ‘*betrübst*’. H. Schütz, *Kleine geistliche Konzerte* II, no. 29, CE 6/19

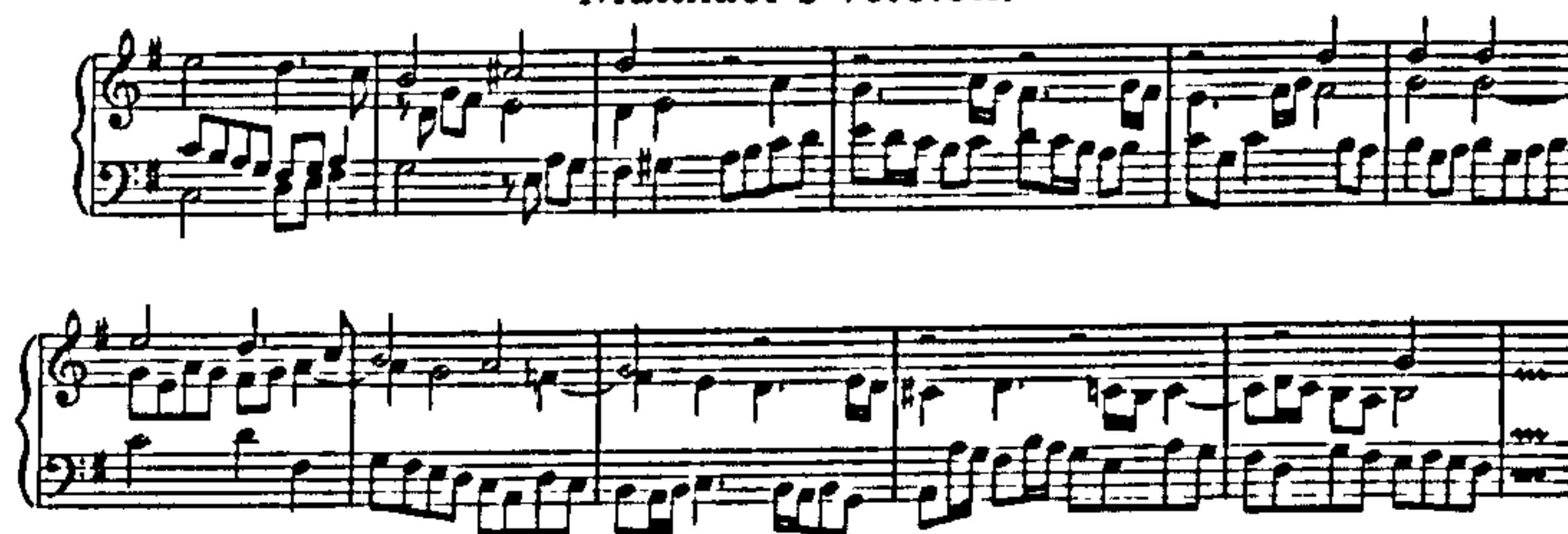


theoretically discordant as the seventh of a dominant-seventh chord on the weak second beat, and never actually sounds as the dissonant fourth with the bass. Nevertheless, there is the feeling of the voice's having been stranded and cut off. This sort of thing is an example of *catachresis*, 'bending the rules'. Might not this infringement here be illustrating '*von einer Jungfrau geboren*', a breaking of the rules if ever there was. Even more fascinating is the obvious reaction of Seiffert to this passage. In studying this piece I was using Matthaei's edition. A perusal of Seiffert's edition brought a surprise. Seiffert, it seems, could not bear the grammatical solecism, so continued the suspension, added the resolution, complete with a tasteful little decoration, and completed the upper part, adding an array of redundant rests and altering the alto part, all this as far as the following entry of the *cantus firmus*, thereby completely masking it. He does a similar thing with the next line, too. What is one to make of this?⁸⁶

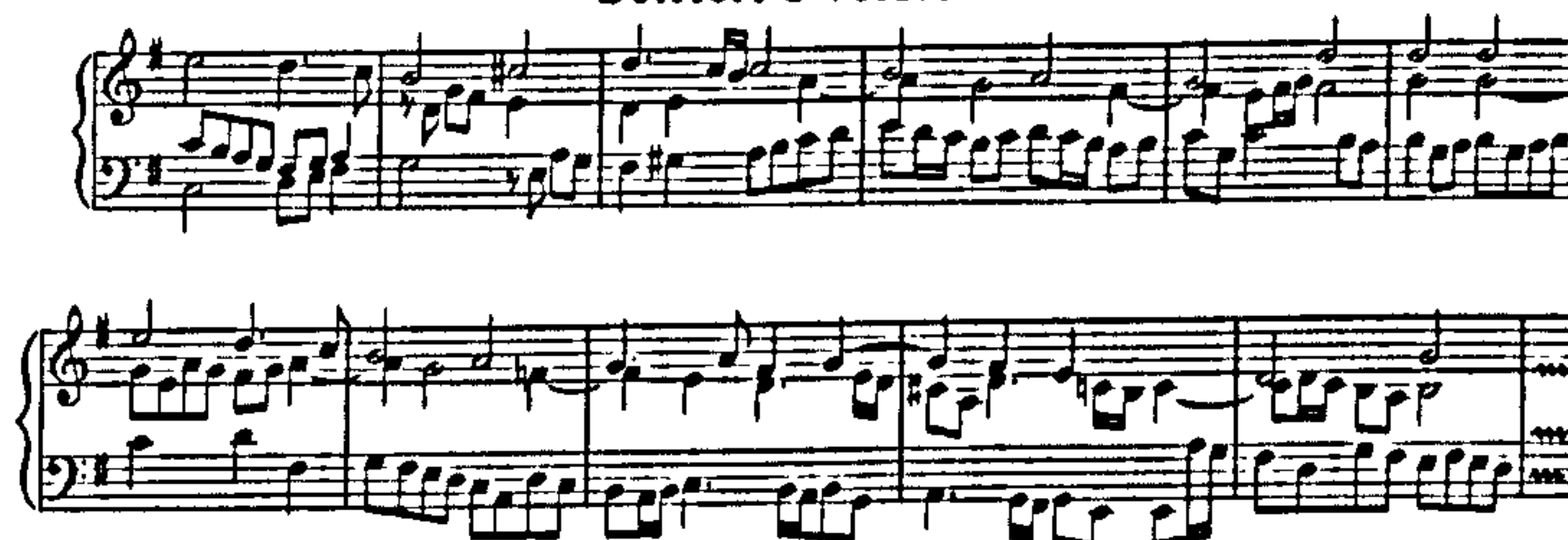
Often even the more complicated *figure* do not express anything very specific. For instance *antistachon* (the movement of a bass line or harmony under an inverted pedal), an example of *antitheton*, the expressing of two contradictory ideas at the same time), is an example that is to be found in almost every *cantus firmus* setting

⁸⁶ *Der Tag, der ist so freudenreich* (DTB 18), bars 41-52.

Matthaei's version:



Seiffert's version:



There is a similar occurrence in bars 30-31, where the upper voice carries on descending to e¹, adding two extra notes on the end of this line of the melody, presumably because of the need to complete the harmony. Though this was (presumably) the work of Pachelbel, Seiffert finds it necessary to write rests above these two notes.

with the melody in the cantus, whatever the emotional content of the piece. And the converse, a cadential figure over a pedal, is not thought of as a *figura*. When the *figure* do express something specific, they do so through a kind of word painting, sometimes subtle and highly figurative, sometimes crude and obvious. Though obviously this is more than merely eye music;⁸⁷ it is the expression or the underlining of the sense of the words through a technical convention, rather than imparting directly to the music the emotional character of the affect being expressed. Association is the driving force, rather than direct evocation of the emotion. There was, however, a technique that sought to create music that does evoke directly in the listener quite specific emotions. This came in modern times to be known as the *Affektenlehre*. Before I turn to this it remains to say that Pachelbel, in using the *figure*, showed himself to be a modern composer. Even if he did not take the advantage of the licence to infringe the conventions of counterpoint to the same extent as Schütz or Schein, nevertheless he did it.

5.7 Affektenlehre: a conscious attempt to imbue the music with the affect expressed by the words

The use of *figure* to underline the expression of the words in the ways described above is very deftly caught by the expression *figure superficiali*. The touches of word painting are superficial, decorative elements that do not for the most part govern the structure, nor, to any great extent, the emotional content of the music.⁸⁸ But besides seeking to enhance the expressivity of their music through these conventional decorative elements, composers of the Baroque period tried also to express emotions directly, indeed to invoke them in their listeners. As Carter says:

⁸⁷ Though I wonder, when Samuel suggests that the look of a melismatic phrase on the page to which the word *Zähne* (teeth) is set in a motet by Kreiger actually looks like teeth. Samuel 1982, p 219.

⁸⁸ Butt 1994, p 46. '.....many of the practical sources imply that the spirit of rhetoric was something developed separately from a consideration of the text and its concomitant emotions.' Bernhard, one of most influential 'codifiers' of rhetorical figures, places these in his second category of *cantar passagiato* as examples of purely musical decoration, whereas *cantar d'affetto*, the style of singing that takes account of the affects generated by the text is a sub-division of the simpler of the two styles of singing. *Ibid*. Butt sees the assimilation of the 'latest Italian conventions' as having led to two 'fields which do not of necessity interact; first, a compositional and performance style that fosters the affect of the text; secondly, that which cultivates a more autonomous system of ornamentation'. *Ibid*, p 51. In other words, Butt, upheld by Bernhard, sees the *Affektenlehre* as something quite different from, and having developed quite separately from, the *Figurenlehre*.

‘The discovery of new ways of enabling music to present a text and thereby move the emotions of the listener is normally viewed as one defining feature of the Baroque period.’⁸⁹ In this discovery composers developed a musical language and technique that imbued the whole of a composition with a particular emotion or affect. The structure and the mood of the piece, not just the superficial decorations, were placed at the service of the affects that the words were expressing. But as well as this the power of expression that had been developed in the first instance to enhance the sense of the words now also became autonomous. The technique for creating this ‘free-standing’ expressivity is known as the *Affektenlehre*, though, as Buelow points out, ‘no one comprehensive, organised theory of how Affects were to be achieved was ever established in the Baroque period.’⁹⁰ The term and the concept is the invention of German musicologists of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Scherer, Bukofzer).⁹¹ It was not until the eighteenth century that ‘the affective view of music was.....entirely absorbed into musical culture’,⁹² even though M. Praetorius had talked in 1619 of the need for ‘musicians not only to sing, but sing with particular artifice and grace’.⁹³ This was perhaps because the desire to affect the listener was the aim of the new Italian style that Praetorius was one of the earliest Germans to promote, a style that did not become universal in Germany until the eighteenth century.⁹⁴

The *Affektenlehre* recognised that music had specific emotional effects, affects generated genuinely by the physiological effect of the sound on the listener, not just intellectual reaction to conventional formulae. While Butt is doubtless correct in seeing the development of ‘a compositional and performance style that fosters the affect of the text’ as something quite separate from ‘that which cultivates a more autonomous system of ornamentation’,⁹⁵ nonetheless, as we have seen, many *figure*,

⁸⁹ Tim Carter, *Renaissance, Mannerism, Baroque*, in Carter and Butt 2005, p 23. Werkmeister asserted that music ‘is ordered to arouse, correct, alter, and calm the passions’. Andreas Werkmeister, *Musicalisches Send-Schreiben* (Quedlingburg, 1700), 11, quoted in Bartel 1997, p 29.

⁹⁰ George Buelow, *New Grove*, article ‘Rhetoric and Music’, Volume 21, p 263.

⁹¹ George Buelow, *New Grove*, article ‘Affects, Theory of the’, Volume 1, p 181.

⁹² Butt 1994, p 45.

⁹³ *Ibid*, p 41, quoting from *Syntagma musicum III*.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, p 46. Twice in his book Butt emphasises that ‘many of the practical sources imply that the spirit of rhetoric was sometimes developed separately from a consideration of the text and its concomitant emotions’. He offers this as a reason for considering *Affektenlehre* before *Figurenlehre*. My reading of his view is that he sees the extempore ornamentation of the vocal lines as something

particularly *figure* involved with chromaticism, rather than being mere conventional markers of the text, go some way to evoking the affect implied in the text. As Scheibe says: '*Die Figuren sind ja selbst eine Sprache der Affecten.*'⁹⁶ It would thus be a mistake to see on the one hand the *Figurenlehre* as the science of the representation of the affects expressed by the text by means of conventional formulae (*affectus exprimere*), and on the other hand the *Affektenlehre* as the science of how to generate those affects in the listener (*affectus movere*). The *figure* were part of the armoury of effects available to the *Affektenlehre*, even though this doctrine went farther and 'deeper' than merely expressing affects in a conventional way.

Part and parcel of the new Italian style was the attempt not only to analyse how to engender affects in the listener, but also to extend the range and specificity of the available affects. But although the theorists of the Baroque period developed elaborate systems, and, in the wake of Monteverdi, certainly found ways of expressing anger, as well as joy and sadness, the overall impression is that it was only basic emotional states that could be clearly distinguished; perhaps just the four humours (anger, equability, sadness, joy) were susceptible of expression.⁹⁷ These temperaments might be further grouped into 'sad' and 'happy'. Though this might seem a trite and superficial division, it reflects a reality that more subtle emotional states (when enjoyed raw, so to speak) are either pleasurable or otherwise.⁹⁸

From the point of view of the developing musical language of the Baroque the striking manifestation of the *musica pathetica*, the style that tried to evoke in the listener the emotion being portrayed, was the exploration of the 'shadow side', the

that the singer does in his role 'playing the part of orator to bring out...the affects ready-coded within the notated music'. A conclusion from this is that although the *figure* enhance the expression of the text, they may do this in a non-emotional way. So writing for instance an ascending passage for *et ascendit in caeli* enhances the 'expression' of the words in the music without generating any concomitant affect. It is a question of rhetoric as ornamentation. Butt 1994, p 46.

⁹⁶ 'The *Figuren* are indeed the very language of the affections.' *Der critische Musicus*, Leipzig, 1745, quoted in Bartel 1997, p 30. Burmeister, one of the earliest writers who tried to formulate a terminology of musical-rhetorical figures, describes one such, *pathopoeia*, as "an apt figure to express the affections". Bartel *ibid*, p 97.

⁹⁷ Along with this went the idea that music of a certain type, expressing a certain humour, would appeal more directly to those with the same character type. Dammann 1984, p 233. Kuhnau remarks in the introduction to his *Bibbische Historien* (1700) that effect of the music might vary from listener to listener, while Zedler observes that each person is moved especially by a particular type of music. (Zedler, *Lexicon* [1739], Volume XXII, p 1,393, quoted in Butt 1994, p 45)

⁹⁸ Bartel points out that Kircher (*Musurgia universalis*) narrows the broad categories of affects down to three: joyful, pious/subdued, and sad. Christian Wolff has merely two: agreeable and unpleasant. Bartel 1997, p 48.

dissonant, the *'traurig'*. Taking as their starting point the emotional world first evoked in the motets of Josquin, composers and theorists extended the possible by developing a musical language that destroyed the Renaissance idea of the *'mediocritas'*, the seeking for a happy medium of euphonious consonance. As with the *Figurenlehre*, the desire to enhance the expressivity of the music in the service of the sense of the words led to infringements of the conventions of counterpoint.⁹⁹ While the depiction of joy meant writing music that was mostly consonant, that used major thirds a great deal, with perhaps the joyful effect's being enhanced by using triple time, a fast tempo and a loud dynamic, the writing of music that explored the opposite realm, however, by employing minor harmonies, dissonance, syncopation, a slow tempo, chromatic melodic and harmonic coloration, often meant breaking with the conventions. The techniques developed for expressing emotional states tended to divide starkly into those for expressing emotionally positive states and those for negative.

The modes had always been thought to express specific affects, though no two writers could agree on what these were.¹⁰⁰ Even so, there is little doubt that the writers of the chorale melodies chose what they thought of as the appropriate mode for the melody for a specific hymn. If today we find that the Dorian mode makes for

⁹⁹ Banchieri called this infringement 'unobservance'. Carter (Carter and Butt 2005), p 165.

¹⁰⁰ From the time of Plato the modes were always thought to be emotionally specific, and to have a direct effect upon the emotions of the listener. If we find the stories of spectacular alterations of behaviour under the influence of music in this or that mode somewhat unlikely, we doubtless also find Plato's idea of banning certain modes by law either equally fanciful or rather sinister (conjuring up the shade of Stalin). Nevertheless, the dichotomy of major and minor equalling happy and sad, trite and inaccurate though it might be, is but the last remnant of a systematic ordering of the modes according to their specific affect.

A perusal of the various lists of affects connected to each mode drawn from various periods will of course result in a great degree of disagreement. Even within one scheme, say for instance that of Zarlino, (1564), we find that mode seven, (Mixolydian) could be lascivious, cheerful, or express a threat, perturbation or anger. If we turn to the medieval writers it is mode five (Lydian) that seems to be most concerned with voluptuousness (though Frutolfus [1100] give this accolade to mode six). And while the same Frutolfus covers his back by saying that mode one (Dorian) could express all affects, the most striking comparisons are often between the authentic and plagal version so the same mode. Thus coming back to Zarlino, we find that the mode 5 (Lydian) is 'joyous, modest and pleasing', whereas the plagal version of the mode is 'devout and tearful'. *New Grove 'Mode III'*, Volume XVI, p 812. An interesting aside on this is the emotional designations given to Tallis's tunes for Archbishop Parker's Psalter (1557), where the tune in the third tone, Phrygian, the famous melody set by Vaughan Williams in his string fantasia, is described so: 'The Third doth rage and roughly brayeth.' Morrison Comegys Boyd, *Elizabethan Music and Musical Criticism*, Philadelphia, 1940, p 47.

Kircher attempted to associate the modes to certain affects. Although Walther gives a thorough discussion of the modes in his *Musikalisches Lexikon*, assigning to each mode a number of hymns, at no point does he express an opinion on the emotional significance of the modes. They had by his time become mere theoretical classifications.

rather stern and solemn hymns even when they are talking about the joy of the resurrection (*Christ lag in Todesbanden*), we must remember that although this mode was thought by some to be sad, to others it was serious and noble, while yet others regarded it as 'joyful'. The mode that Pachelbel chose to use in each of his organ chorales was of course determined by the mode of the chorale melody itself, but if we examine the mood of his compositions we come to the conclusion that there is a relatively clear correspondence between mode and mood; Pachelbel's treatment always reinforces the mood of the mode insofar as it can be determined. Those chorales that express anguish use the 'minor-key' modes, particularly transposed Dorian, and Aeolian, and where the extremes of anguish are greatest, Phrygian. For those on the other side of the divide, Mixolydian, Lydian and Ionian were preferred.

Nevertheless, while such obviously joyful hymns as *Ein' feste Burg* and *Vom Himmel hoch* are clearly in the Ionian mode, and such obviously anguished ones as *Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein* and *Ach Herr mich armen Sünder* are in the Phrygian mode, the emotional import of some of those lying between the extremes is more ambiguous. Is not *Christ lag in Todesbanden* also a joyful hymn? The answer is that the significance of the mode for determining the emotional valency of the composition became less important than other factors, techniques in the armoury of the *Affektenlehre*.¹⁰¹ We shall now explore these as they are found in Pachelbel's chorales.¹⁰²

I shall elucidate five techniques used by the *Affektenlehre* to generate music that expresses anguish.¹⁰³ They are:

- Melodic chromaticism, either thematic or decorative (chromatic alteration, sighing figures).

¹⁰¹ Bartel 1997, pp 36-46, 'The Affections and Modality/Tonality'.

¹⁰² The demise of the affective specificity of the modal system was seen by some as the destruction of music's ability to move the hearts of men in a specific way for the better. In a letter to Ugolino Gualteruzzi, Bernardino Cirillo bemoans the fact that, when composers write church music nowadays (1550), they are indifferent to the specific affects of the various modes, writing music for the Ordinary 'in any way at all, mixing them [the modes] in an indifferent and uncertain manner'. He finishes his letter by pleading for 'the praises of the Lord to be sung well and in a manner different from those of secular texts. ...For this is all that stirs me: let them make their motets, chansons, madrigals, and ballate in their own way, as long as our church bends its own efforts to move men to religion and piety.' Bernardino Cirillo, *Letter to Ugolino Gualteruzzi*, in Gary Tomlinson, *Strunk's Source Readings in Music History. Volume 3, The Renaissance*, pp 90-94.

¹⁰³ Dammann 1984, Chapter 4, where he illustrates his thesis using the more spectacular manifestations of what follows here. Pachelbel's music is more 'refined', 'well-behaved', but nevertheless in its more sober way illustrates the traits over which Dammann extensively expatiates.

- *Affekgeladene Melos* (falling lines, sudden dramatic leaps, *saltus duriusculus*; rising fourth, falling fifth; short phrases with rests, especially involving the *suspirans*. Melodic movement by step with a few small intervals; melodic stasis; generally falling melodic lines).
- Syncopation
- Unprepared dissonance, dissonant harmony, a lack of 5/3 chords; dissonant bass parts, particularly when the note precipitating the dissonance is a second above the bass; the last inversion of the dominant seventh. ‘Disallowed’ chords, especially the augmented chord in a prominent position.
- *Relationes non harmonicae/Relatio obliqua*.

Melodic chromaticism

The chorale *Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund* (DTB 15) is a profoundly moving and sad hymn. Pachelbel’s setting of it captures this mood. The Phrygian mode, the slow tempo, the absence of short note values, the restricted ambitus and generally conjunct movement of the individual parts all contribute to this mood. The harmonies generated by the counterpoint in this mode are another factor of importance. The use of a *figura*, *mutatio toni*, the falling chromatic scale, has already been pointed out. Another striking figure is the falling fourth and rising third that comes in toward the end. This figure would not have been found in *stile antico* counterpoint. This *suspirans* figure, entering on a weak crotchet, and the rising third forming a discord are, along with the *mutatio toni*, all infringements of the conventions of the *stile antico*, employed here in the service of the absent words.

The descending chromatic scale, becoming, when extended beyond two notes, the *figura* known as *passus duriusculus*, is, as we have seen, a famous generator of pathos. Used in its ‘standard’ shape in Pachelbel’s fugue in D minor for organ, however, it does not seem to imply any great anguish; there it is rather more like a compositional exercise. Used in the partitas, however, the effect is completely different. These movements are good examples of a complete structure’s being suffused by a technique. Besides the chromaticism, however, other features

contributing to the pathos can be seen in these movements. In partita 4 of *Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan* (Matthaei IV, p 30) the only non-conjunct intervals in the upper two parts (apart from between the lines of the chorale) are the rising fourth and descending fifth, both present in the original tune. The poignant descending fifths in bars 5 and 6, although being thematic (the words are *Er ist mein Gott, der in der Not* [He is my God who, in my need], are brilliantly exploited. Otherwise all movement is either conjunct or chromatic, and the bass part is very similar. All the equivalent movements in the other partitas are imbued with the same pathetic spirit; in that in *Alle Menschen müssen sterben* (Matthaei IV, p. 12) the melody itself is crammed with as much chromatic movement as possible.

Affektgeladene Melos

It was Monteverdi who drew up a recipe for writing melodies to create a dramatic effect.¹⁰⁴ Of those dramatic effects that are at the sorrowful end of the spectrum, semitonal moves and *suspirans* figures, along with large descending intervals, are to be seen in it. The chromatically inflected leaping figure, the *saltus duriusculus*, can be seen at the beginning of Pachelbel's *Ich hab' mein' Sach' Gott heimgestellt* (DTB 36), though, as previously explained, the shape with its diminished fourth comes from the original chorale. Pachelbel has enhanced the effect by starting with a *suspirans* rhythm. In the general texture there are rather more rests than is usual, this giving the opportunity for the opening figure to be used frequently (in its rhythmic form anyway). The melodic lines in the piece tend to fall. The chorale itself displays that melodic stasis, a kind of worrying around a few notes without seeming to go anywhere. There are two touches of word painting. In bar 18 there is an example of *antitheton*, moving parts under an inverted pedal. While the note that ends this line of the chorale is not longer than the other line endings, the nature of the lower parts draws attention to it; the words are '*noch länger leben*' (yet longer live). In bar 22 the movement comes to a stop before starting up again with a little fanfare figure (derived from the next chorale line, and functioning as fore-imitation), this to

¹⁰⁴ Dammann 1984, p 303, gives a list. This list is collated from examples from Monteverdi's madrigals. Monteverdi, in answer to criticisms by Artusi, had himself written an *apologia* along the same lines.

illustrate '*nicht widerstreben*' (not strive against).

In the larger setting of *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein* (DTB 64) we see again the restricted ambitus, both in the chorale melody and in the accompanying lines. The generally very sober counterpoint is enlivened by a constantly recurring figure first seen in bar 30 where the chorale melody comes in. This figure of a rising fourth followed by a descending scale in *suspirans* rhythm comes to dominate the texture. (Example 5.24, below) Its plaintive character is sometimes enhanced by making the initial leap an octave, but the figure is so woven into the texture, rarely being preceded by a rest, that we perhaps overlook it. The remarkable fact is that this rising interval is almost the only skip in any of the voices in the chorale section; this lachrymose rising fourth is also utilised in the introductory fugue (Example 5.25, below) in a sequential passage where the leap is followed by a descending phrase. I shall discuss later the way in which the harmony of this remarkable piece contributes to its effect. Here let us say that it shows a masterly use of conjunct movement and restricted ambitus to convey the sense of the words.



Example 5.24 Pachelbel, *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein*, DTB 64, bars 28-31, shows the short rising-fourth *suspirans* figure that will come to dominate the texture.



Example 5.25 Pachelbel, *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein*, DTB 64, bars 19-22, shows the rising fourth followed by a descending scale.

Sometimes the composer is helped by the shape of the chorale; we have seen this in the case of *Ich hab' mein' Sach' Gott heimgestellt*. A particularly poignant melody is that to *Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder/Herzlich tut mich verlangen/O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden*. The opening rising fourth, the generally descending melodic lines, the melodic stasis, the narrow ambitus, the almost total conjunct movement within

the lines of the verse, the rising fifth between the first two lines, the rising sixth to the penultimate line, and the rising fourth in the final line all contribute to the pathetic nature of the melody. This melody is almost an object lesson in how to write a sorrowful tune.

Syncopation

Syncopation was a common way of imbuing a piece with darker emotions. Pachelbel does not use this device in an extravagant way, but because he uses, perhaps overmuch, the preparation, suspension and resolution scheme of *stile antico* polyphony, his polyphony is shot through with syncopation whatever the emotional content. In the larger *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein* (DTB 64) we therefore find many examples of syncopation. In this piece, however, Pachelbel is careful never to disguise the preparation notes by decoration or retardation. By this means the syncopation is made more prominent. But there is another level of syncopation present in this piece. The sighing figure in bars 20 and 21, already referred to, is sometimes enhanced by lengthening the first two notes, turning the leap into an octave and syncopating the second note of it, but this syncopation involves no dissonance (bars 50-51; see Example 5.27, page 233). There are also several other places in the piece (bars 29, 30, 33, 44, 50 and 51, all in the alto part) where syncopation is not driven by the dissonance treatment. We see Pachelbel introducing this figure for the sake of the syncopation. This might be because the major key of the chorale precludes the more extreme possibilities of chromatic harmony in a piece the words of which are full of anguish.

Dissonance

The Renaissance ideal of '*mediocritas*', the seeking after euphonious consonant harmony, gave rise to scores that when furnished with a figured bass showed hardly any figures.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, even the 6/3 chord, even when it was understood for the first

¹⁰⁵ The 'figured bass' appeared in music in the early years of the 17th century. There are almost no figures in Monteverdi's music (but rather more accidentals), whereas in the music of Schütz and Schein they have come to play a fundamental role. Accidentals showing whether a chord was major or

When we look at Pachelbel's settings we find that root-position chords are a relative rarity. So, in the chorale section of *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein* (DTB 64), of 38 chords harmonising the notes of the chorale melody only 10 are root-position common chords. Nine are 6/3 chords, five are 4/2, six are 6/5, seven are 7, one is 9, one is an augmented chord, and two are 5/4 chords. Similar figures for *Aus tiefer Not* (*Ach wie elend ist unsre Zeit*) are that out of 53 harmonisations of the melody notes, 20 are 5/3, 13 6/3, seven are 4/2, one is 5/4, five are 6/5, and three are 6/4 chords. In these two chorales the melody is harmonised by a dissonance far more often than not. This is done, I believe, to reflect the sense of the words. (Example 5.27)



Example 5.27 Pachelbel, *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein* (DTB 64), bars 42-52, shows: those notes of the melody harmonised by a chord other than a 5/3 chord in root position; rising fourths; the figure with a rising fourth followed by a descending scale, sometimes with the rising interval extended to an octave and syncopated.

These two chorales by Pachelbel are remarkable in that the chorale melodies are in the major key despite the anguished sentiments of the words of the hymns.¹⁰⁷ Obviously Pachelbel was used to the major-key tune of *Aus tiefer Not*, even though Luther's Phrygian tune for these words was widely popular. Nevertheless, despite the major key, Pachelbel tries in these settings to convey the dark sentiments. We have

¹⁰⁷ Appendix 3 gives the verbal text of the first verses of these hymns.

already seen how this was done in *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein* by using syncopation and conjunct melodic lines with a restricted compass. The key rules out the wilder reaches of chromaticism, but the use of discordant but not extremely chromatic harmonies adds to the dark effect.¹⁰⁸

Dammann has drawn attention to Werkmeister's views on dissonant harmony, especially when the dissonance involves the bass. The dark sound of the bass colliding with the tenor was part of the armoury of effects for creating a '*traurig*' affect. We see the relatively large number of 4/2 chords in these two chorales. Pachelbel is also very fond of the last inversion of the dominant-seventh chord, and it occurs frequently in his works, often with the bass and tenor a second apart. Werkmeister describes this chord as '*diabolus in musica*'.¹⁰⁹ Another striking chord used by Pachelbel is the augmented triad. This chord is classed as 'disallowed' in *stile antico* counterpoint, because although it could be arrived at quite legitimately,

¹⁰⁸ As I shall show later, Pachelbel does harmonise a chorale melody using predominantly 5/3 chords, when the sentiment of the words is unaffectedly joyful (e. g. in *Ein' feste Berg*). The point being made is that even in a major key he goes to the trouble of harmonising the notes of the melody using discords or inversions of common chords since the sentiments of the words demand it. Scheidemann, on the other hand, whatever the sentiments of the words, uses predominantly 5/3 chords. While Scheidemann's *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott* (Example 5.26, page 233) might be thought to inhabit the same emotional world as the comparison, Pachelbel's *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein*, it can be seen that Scheidemann harmonises the chorale melody with predominantly root-position chords, disregarding of the emotional content of the hymn. We can see in his setting of *Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl* that almost every note of the melody is harmonised by a 5/3 chord. Scheidemann obtains his '*traurige*' effects by different means, using a slow tempo, suspensions and syncopations.

Scheidemann, *Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl* (4. Versus). [2. Versus of the same setting is DTB 26]



¹⁰⁹ Dammann 1984, p 291.

since both upper voices are aurally consonant with the bass and with each other, the resultant sound exceeded the limits of acceptability.

Although Pachelbel uses dissonant chords to create a general atmosphere, he also uses them to paint particular words. So in *Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein*, DTB 2 (see Example 5.28, page 237), after the 'Ach', the first word of the entering chorale, has been highlighted by the 3rd inversion of a dominant seventh, the word 'Gott' is set to an augmented chord. 'Er – bar – men' (have mercy) in bars 9 and 10 of the chorale section is set to an augmented chord too, and in the same place for the repetition of the *Stollen* the word is 'Armen' (poor). In *Aus tiefer Not (Ach wie elend ist unsre Zeit*, DTB 5) the word 'Not' in bar 3 of the chorale section is set to the last inversion of a dominant seventh chord, as is the end of the line 'was Sünd und Unrecht ist ge-tan' (what sin and injustice have been done – breaking the rules?) in bar 65. In the large setting of *Durch Adams Fall* (DTB 22), the word 'Schaden' (damage) in bar 24 of the chorale section is set to an augmented chord arrived at by means of *mutatio toni*.¹¹⁰ The coincidence of these striking chords and these emotionally laden words cannot be accidental; Pachelbel must have intended it. Could he have achieved this extempore? Perhaps he came upon the idea in the full flight of inspiration and perfected it later.

Often the first chord of the chorale section of a combination-type chorale is strikingly dissonant. I have already demonstrated this in the case of *Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein* (DTB 2). Analysis of all the authenticated combination-type chorales reveals that, of the 18 examples, only 3 begin the chorale section with a tonic 5/3 chord. A further two start it with a 5/3, but not the tonic. Five start it with the tonic in root position but with one of the voices suspended against it. Two start with the dominant seventh in root position, one with it in first inversion, one with it third inversion. Three start with an interrupted cadence, two with the tonic chord in first inversion. One sees here an attempt to spring the chorale melody on the listener. The effective way this is done precludes, to my mind, any possibility that these combination chorales were joined together by Walther; these joins must be an integral part of the pieces.

¹¹⁰ Can the extraordinary bass line in bar 51 (straight after *Schaden*) be anything other than an evocation of the snake in *darein die Schlange Evam bezwang* (the serpent beguiled Eve into doing it)?

Relationes non-harmonicae

The last technique that I have listed that plays a part in the *Affektenlehre* as a means of imparting the darker emotions to a piece of music is a natural consequence of the increased use of chromatic harmony. In *stile antico* counterpoint at its purest chromaticisms tended to be confined to the inflection of the leading notes at cadences. If the music ‘changed key’ it did so gradually. For instance, in the *Kyrie* of Palestrina’s Mass *Aeterna Christi munera* the only ‘modulation’ is to the dominant. Even so, such a modulation involved an ‘infringement’ of the strict conventions of counterpoint known as a *Relatio non-harmonica* (*Querstand*; *Relatio obliqua*). This is a kind of false relation, but the clash between notes in consecutive chords involves not the same note with a different chromatic inflection, rather two notes forming an exotic interval (usually any diminished or augmented interval). Thus if, in a piece in F major, a B natural occurs in the chord after an F major chord, this B natural will form a tritone with the Fs in the F major chord. This is what happens in bars 10-11 in the first *Kyrie* of Palestrina’s piece. Even two major chords in root position occurring together not involving an inflected note could result in such a clash. An example is to be found in bar 5 of the *Credo* of Palestrina’s Mass, where a root-position E-flat chord is followed by a root-position F major chord. The *Relatio non-harmonica* is between the E flat in the tenor and the A natural in the cantus. Such clashes were very difficult to avoid, and the milder ones were tolerated, even sanctioned, in the old counterpoint.

As chromaticism became more and more a part of the palette of expressivity in Baroque times, and indeed had already done so with some of the later Renaissance composers [e. g. Gesualdo, Victoria], and even some not-so-late Renaissance composers [e. g. Tallis, Josquin] when they wanted to be particularly expressive, such collisions became more striking; any passage with chromatic harmony will be full of such progressions. The immediate effect is the feeling of being wrenched from one key to another, as kind of tonal roller-coaster that Palestrina, with his smooth harmonious consonance, did his best to avoid. Such progressions came to be seen as a possible means of evoking darker emotions, eventually becoming a weapon in the

armoury of the *Affektenlehre*.¹¹¹

Pachelbel's *Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein* (DTB2) is full of chromaticism and therefore of *relationes non-harmonicae*. It is impossible to write a perfect cadence on to a minor chord without writing one, and the inflected seventh degree in the minor key usually generates one. In the chorale section of this piece the phenomenon can be seen (Example 5.28, below). More extreme examples are to be found in the last line, where the tonal uncertainty gives rise to a kaleidoscopic richness of harmony. Pachelbel does not write the exotic harmony of Gesualdo, so the effect of these cross relations in his music is not extreme. Nevertheless they add to the '*traurige*' affect.

Choral

Ach wie Gott von ihm mol sich da -
rein dein, und ver - las - sen
des sind er wir - bar Ar - men, men.

Example 5.28 Pachelbel, *Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein* (DTB 2), bars 38-48, shows the words associated with the harmonies of the tune, and the *relationes non harmonicae*.

I finish this section by contrasting two organ chorales at the extremes of the emotional spectrum, to show how the techniques of the *Figurenlehre* and the *Affektenlehre* function in Pachelbel's pieces.

Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein (DTB 2) has frequently been cited in our discussion. The melody itself, a genuine Phrygian-mode tune, displays some of the characteristics of the '*traurig*'. The initial semitone is not exactly chromatic, but

¹¹¹ Mattheson 1739, p 569, gives a good description of this phenomenon that was still a current topic of discussion more than a century later. The essence of the situation is that these relationships changed from a 'breaking of the rules' into a means of expression. What was previously regarded as an infringement was gradually overlooked, until today the whole concept is almost unknown.

given the ambience of E minor that is soon to prevail in Pachelbel's piece it comes to have a chromatic character. There is a certain amount of melodic stasis in the tune, combined with some poignant rising intervals. The first upward skip is a fifth, but it has the yearning quality of the rising fourth in this context; a rising fourth joins together the two identical descending phrases of the of the second line of the chorale, and a rising interval followed by a descending phrase occurs a number of times in the tune. Does not the contour of the first line fit exactly the sense of the words? We cry up to heaven, from which God is asked to look down.

The opening chorale fughetta sets the mood of the piece using the techniques already observed. The contrapuntal lines are of an extraordinary plasticity for Pachelbel, examples of *affektgeladenen Melos*. While, in keeping with the idea of limited ambitus and stasis expressing sorrow, the melodic lines often move around just a few notes, suddenly there is a striking jump. The rising sixth (*exclamatio*) occurs four times, mostly linked with a *syncopa* (bars 21, 25, 32 & 35). The rising fourth and falling fifth occur countless times, often associated with each other; together they underpin the passage of *katabasis* in bar 6, and give the wonderful tenor phrase starting on the fourth quaver of bar 12 through to bar 15 its character. This phrase has an element of *saltus duriusculus* in the shape of a descending diminished fourth, a feature that also appears in bars 8 and 25 and, in a spectacular manner (after a rising octave on a *syncopa*), in bar 28. Melodic chromaticism is also present in the form of *muatatio toni* in bars 7 and 24, and in a decorated form in many places.

There is a considerable amount of decorative syncopation that enlivens the lines rhythmically. The syncopated quavers are either a retardation of a crotchet preparation note for a suspension, or set off a preparation, suspension and resolution at twice the speed of the crotchet tactus with the dissonance on both the stronger and weaker beats of the bar (bars 12, 21, 23, 24, 28, 33, 34, 36 and 37), and often are approached by a rising fourth. There is a passage of *faux bourdon* in bars 33 and 34 and, decorated, in bars 36 and 37. Perhaps this has the usual significance of forsakenness in this passage that lead up to the chorale melody. We see also a cantus and a bass entry outside their normal ambitus (bars 27 and 35 respectively).

The fughetta is full of *relationes non-harmonicae*, and there are also some false

relations (bars 8, 13, 25, 28) all caused by the descending diminished fourth, though their effect is ameliorated by passing notes.

The character of the part-writing changes in the chorale section; gone are the quaver syncopations, except for the occasional retardation of a preparation note for a suspension. The lines move almost completely in conjunct motion. The burden of expressing the sorrow moves in this section to the harmony. The initial 6/4/2 chord on 'Ach' (bar 1 of the chorale section), the augmented chord in the following bar on 'Gott', and the similar treatment of 'erbarmen' have already been mentioned, as have the concomitant *relationes non-harmonicae*. The augmented chord counts as an unprepared dissonance, a real rarity for Pachelbel, who was so particular about voice-leading, and is here employed deliberately for effect.

The short passage of *Vorimitation* starting in bar 5 of the chorale section, formed out of the descending scale in quavers in *suspirans* rhythm with an ornament on the middle note, is quite striking and rather out of character with the rest of the piece. Might it be seen as representing God's grace descending from heaven? This chorale is unusual in being an accompaniment-type setting with completely regular *Vorimitation*, Pachelbel even going to the trouble of writing in the first-time bar *Vorimitation* for the first line of the *cantus firmus* which initially had no *Vorimitation*, having led straight in from the fughetta.¹¹² Would it be too fanciful to see the reduction in voice parts in this passage as illustrating 'wie wenig sind der Heiligen dein' (how few are your saints)? Certainly the point of imitation in bar 21, ushering the line 'der Glaub ist auch verschollen' (belief also has disappeared), a perfect little fughetta introduction with exact imitation in the correct keys, would have been seen in Bach's music as the illustration of 'belief' by using a severe contrapuntal form. The end of this line also 'disappears', leaving the tenor to set off the last point of imitation, a little fanfare figure based on the last line of the chorale set to the *suspirans* rhythm in quavers. Perhaps this is a little pleading sigh by the 'Menschenkindern' (children of men) mentioned in the last line.

A composer wishing to avoid the darker emotions and write a joyful piece would dispense with the techniques we have enumerated. Pachelbel's *Ein' feste Burg* (DTB 23) thus displays an absence of those elements that make for the melancholic.

¹¹² The whole of the fughetta is of course *Vorimitation* of the first line; but here the character of each section is so markedly different that the Chorale section feels like another piece.

Although the original version of the melody is full of syncopation, this does not find its way into the organ chorale, either in the version of the melody there employed, or in the accompanying lines. Syncopation is used only as part of the smooth preparation, suspension and resolution procedure, which procedure produces most of the dissonance in the piece; there are no unprepared dissonances, and no chromatic ones. There is very little chromaticism, and, therefore very few *Relationes non-harmonicae*. This can be seen superficially by the general absence of accidentals; in the whole piece the only accidentals are G sharp for the modulation to the dominant, and A sharp for the modulation to the relative minor. These A sharps, which would normally be expected to result in *relationes non-harmonicae*, are always introduced over a suspension; suspensions make *relationes non-harmonicae* impossible.¹¹³ The bass is rarely dissonant; where it is, this is caused by the exigencies of using the melody as a bass line. The tenor never forms a second with the bass. The entries of the melody in the bass in the chorale section are harmonised always with a common chord, usually the tonic chord in root position. Beside this absence of elements that make for the melancholic, there are other features that promote the joyful feeling. The melodic lines flow smoothly, but use skips quite often, though these are consonant, often outlining consonant chords. This kind of melodic contour makes the part-writing sound completely unlike *stile antico* polyphony; Palestrina would never have written a line like the tenor part in bars 5-6, 10-11. The descending third, fourth, and fifth, the rising sixth and octave, all of which occur frequently, derive from the chorale melody. The major key, itself a generator of joyful feelings, gives a cheerful aspect to all the scale passages that rise and fall through a fourth (this deriving again from the chorale); the final phrase of the melody, descending through an octave, is magnificently assertive; many of the strands of the counterpoint derive from it. There is much use of parallel thirds and sixths in the accompaniment of the chorale section, and much of the figuration is chains of eshappées (*superiectio*), or rising or falling sequences (*epizeuxis*). But despite these examples of *figure corte* there is no word

¹¹³ This is because the essence of *relationes non-harmonicae* is the 'false' relations between one chord and the next. If the offending note in the first chord (in Pachelbel's piece in bars 27 and 73, an E) is still present when the A sharp is sounded in the following chord, then the two notes are brought into relationship. Also *Relationes non harmonicae* cannot be caused by two notes in the same voice, as indeed there is no false relation in the ordinary sense when the two notes involved are in the same part and move chromatically the one to the other.

painting; a fast tempo and a loud dynamic seem appropriate to the piece and would reinforce its general mood, expressing the joy we feel about the solidity of the fortress that is our God. In contrast a slow tempo and a relatively quiet registration would underline the sorrowful mood of *Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein*, the keynote emotion of which is despair. Far from being purely musical exercises, entities sufficient unto themselves, the pieces express extra-musical notions using the apparatus of the *Figurenlehre* and *Affektenlehre* in a completely Baroque manner. Despite the antique elements in them they are thoroughly modern pieces.

Carter, to whom we referred at the beginning of this section, sees the ‘rise of instrumental music with its own rhetorical power independent of words’ as an element ‘in the musical Baroque that might seem, on the face of it, to run counter to it’.¹¹⁴ Perhaps he thinks that this development is, as it were, a betrayal of the achievement of monodic solo song, with its crystal-clear delivery of the words, in favour of another element that he sees also as running counter to the musical Baroque, that is ‘the formalist tendency to extol the craft of musical composition as an object of contemplation of and for itself, and thus separate from any other specific function’ (such as expressing words, uplifting worshippers, glorifying prelates/kings, or whatever). But the craft of musical composition, specifically the elevated counterpoint of the *stile antico*, besides (or perhaps rather than) being an object of contemplation in itself, was first and foremost a means ‘to move the mind to higher things’,¹¹⁵ and as such, was preferred by the church to solo song. This preference was the case almost despite the words. It was as if the church did not want the congregation to hear the words, or any words; they might almost have been considered a distraction. The Baroque emphasis on the audibility of the words and their emotional content being expressed through the music was seen by the church as something that hindered moving the mind to higher things. Luther’s admiration for polyphony (particularly Josquin’s music), such a powerful influence on the early development of Lutheran church music, has an echo in the creation of these organ chorales that use ‘*stile antico*’ polyphony. These pieces are examples of

¹¹⁴ Carter, *Renaissance, Mannerism and Baroque* in Carter and Butt 2005, p 23.

¹¹⁵ Carter, *The Search for Musical Meaning*, in Carter and Butt 2005, p 159. All the quotations in this paragraph are from these two articles.

‘instrumental music with its own rhetorical power’ which use an antique technique, but updated with affective musical devices so that it can express the sentiments of words not heard (because not present, rather than inaudible), in order to ‘move the mind to higher things’. Whether such contemplation counts also as ‘extol[ling] the craft of musical composition as an object of contemplation of and for itself’ is a nice point. Does such contemplation represent something inherited from the Middle Ages, and thus ‘antique’, or is it thoroughly ‘modern’, and a sign of the advanced nature of the music? Here we do indeed have a series of seeming contradictions that nevertheless points to a thoroughly Baroque outcome.

5.8 Pachelbel’s organ chorales as exemplars of earlier styles of treating a *cantus firmus*

Dietrich has elucidated in great detail the various stages in the development of techniques for treating a *cantus firmus*.¹¹⁶ While he goes also into much detail as to how these techniques appear in the works of Scheidt, when it comes to Pachelbel he does not follow this up. Maybe this is because in Scheidt’s examples the various techniques are used blatantly, whereas in Pachelbel’s organ chorales there is often the merest subtle hint of a procedure. In this respect there is a clear distinction between the organ chorales and the chorale partitas; it is easy to find clear uses of particular styles in the chorale partitas, since each of these pieces is a parade of a number of the possible treatments of the melody. In the organ chorales the techniques are disguised.

Whether Buszin is correct in criticising the chorale partitas for having ‘too much of the rhapsodic Italian spirit of a Poglietti and too little of Pachelbel’ in them, is open to debate.¹¹⁷ Nevertheless there is clearly a difference of spirit between the partitas and the organ chorales, and superficially it would seem that the partitas are more modern works. Certainly they were based on chorales written at the time; there is for instance no hint of modality in any of them. Even so, a closer examination of them reveals that they are no more Italian than the organ chorales; neither are the

¹¹⁶ Dietrich 1932.

¹¹⁷ Walther E. Buszin, Johann Pachelbel’s contribution to pre-Bach organ literature in Theodore Hoelty-Nickel (editor), *The musical heritage of the Lutheran church*, Volume 5., pp 140-155, quoted in Perreault 2004, p 387.

techniques of *cantus-firmus* treatment used in them confined to those more recently developed, nor are these techniques absent from the organ chorales. An analysis will be made taking Dietrich's ideas as a framework.

Certainly the organ chorales of Pachelbel make extensive use of the earliest 'layer' of techniques enumerated by Dietrich. He sees these as stemming from the tradition of Conrad Paumann, and set out in the *Buxheimer Orgelbuch*.

- The oldest method of decorating a melody was to present it in the bass and add chords above it in the same rhythm; this style is described as chordal style (Example 5.29);



Paumann's school, while always retaining the melody in the bass, introduced two other methods of elaboration that we meet in Pachelbel's works. These are:

- the 'syncopated chordal' style (Example 5.31);



Example 5.31 *Kyrie de Santa Maria Virgine* (from the *Buxheimer Orgelbuch*) [Dietrich 1932, p 10]

- and the 'imitative-descant' style (Example 5.32);



Example 5.32 *Magnificat 8. Toni Quia respexit* (from the *Buxheimer Orgelbuch*) [Dietrich 1932, p 10, notation modernised]

The former technique is to be found in, for instance, *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein* (Matthaei III, p 46), in bars 6, 14, and 25, where two parts interlock in a way Dietrich calls 'hocket-like' (even though, in that instance, the *cantus firmus* is not involved). While Sweelinck could construct a whole variation out of this technique (3rd variation of *Soll es sein*), the nearest Pachelbel gets to doing this is in Partita 1 of *Christus, der ist mein Leben*.

Imitative descant style, involving the imitative or even canonic entwining of the melody, is very frequently used by Pachelbel. Variation 4 of his *Freu dich sehr* is a *tour de force*, with the accompanying parts being imitative (sometimes canonic) by inversion. A movement like Partita 5 of *Christus der ist mein Leben* is based on the same principle, though the imitation is more rhythmic than melodic. It is more typical of Pachelbel to use a mere suggestion of the style, as, for instance, in *Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr* (DTB 6), than to write a movement saturated with the one technique: in this chorale the lower parts imitate each other for longish stretches (bars 22 foll., 30 foll.).

The next 'layer' of development included the techniques introduced by Arnold Schlick and his contemporaries:

- imitative introductions in the style of the polyphonic motet of the time;
- the removal of the *cantus firmus* to a higher part, thus allowing a real bass part to be written;
- the splitting up of the *cantus firmus* into discrete sections;
- the use of a four-part texture;
- decorating the beginning and the end of the melody with more-or-less extended melismas (e. g. Arnold Schlick's *Maria Zart*) – these are called by Dietrich 'apostrophes'.

These are all techniques that can be seen in Pachelbel's music.

The fugal imitative element in Pachelbel's organ chorales has been explored in depth. It is all-pervasive in the organ chorales, but we find it even in the partitas, though there, since there are no introductions, all movements start straight in with the melody. But in Partita 8 of *Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan* there is a miniature Italian *giga* with an exquisitely crafted three-part fugal exposition in the first half, a four-part one in the second. Buszin has drawn a comparison between Pachelbel's keyboard suites and the partitas to the detriment of the latter, and indeed there was a tradition of writing chorale partitas in the form of the dance suite. Pachelbel's partitas show only the merest trace of this, however. This example is one such trace.

Pachelbel's placing of the *cantus firmus* has already been discussed. In the partitas, if the melody is presented in a middle voice, or in the bass, it is unadorned. If in the upper, it may be adorned. However, that a voice is adorned does not mean it is the *cantus firmus*. So in Partita 2 of *Christ, der ist mein Leben*, the melody, adorned, is in the upper voice. Partita 3 inverts the texture by adorning the bass, but this is not the *cantus firmus*, which remains, now unadorned, in the upper voice.

While the *cantus firmus* is always split up into its constituent lines in the organ chorales, in the partitas it is always presented continuously. Similarly there is no room for initial or concluding flourishes (apostrophes) in the partitas, and genuine

examples do not occur in the organ chorales either, in that the final note of the *cantus firmus* itself is never decorated. Often, though, the final note of the *cantus firmus*, functioning as a harmonic pedal, is elongated, and there is an elaborate concluding flourish that has very much the feeling of an apostrophe. Particularly striking examples of this are to be found in *Wo Gott zum Haus* (DTB 71), *Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern* (DTB 65) and *Warum betrübst du dich, mein Herz* (DTB 60).

All the techniques discussed thus far can be considered as part of the German tradition. The next layer that Dietrich elucidates comes from England and the music of the English virginalists, mediated through the influence of Byrd and Bull on Sweelinck, were:

- decoration of the cantus firmus with parallel thirds, sixths, tenths, etc., either plain or decorated (Example 5.33);



Example 5.33 John Bull, *The King's Hunt*, bars 10-11; [Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, Volume 1, p116]

- complementary figuration (Example 5.34);



Example 5.34 William Byrd, *Prelude to the Carmen's Whistle*; [Musica Britannica XXVII, No 24, p 85]

- springing figures, especially in the bass, these often forms of *heterolepsis* (which is what Dietrich also calls them), where the part seems to leap to another tessitura and by so doing 'picks up' another understood line that has been previously dropped – two parts written out as one (Example 5.35);



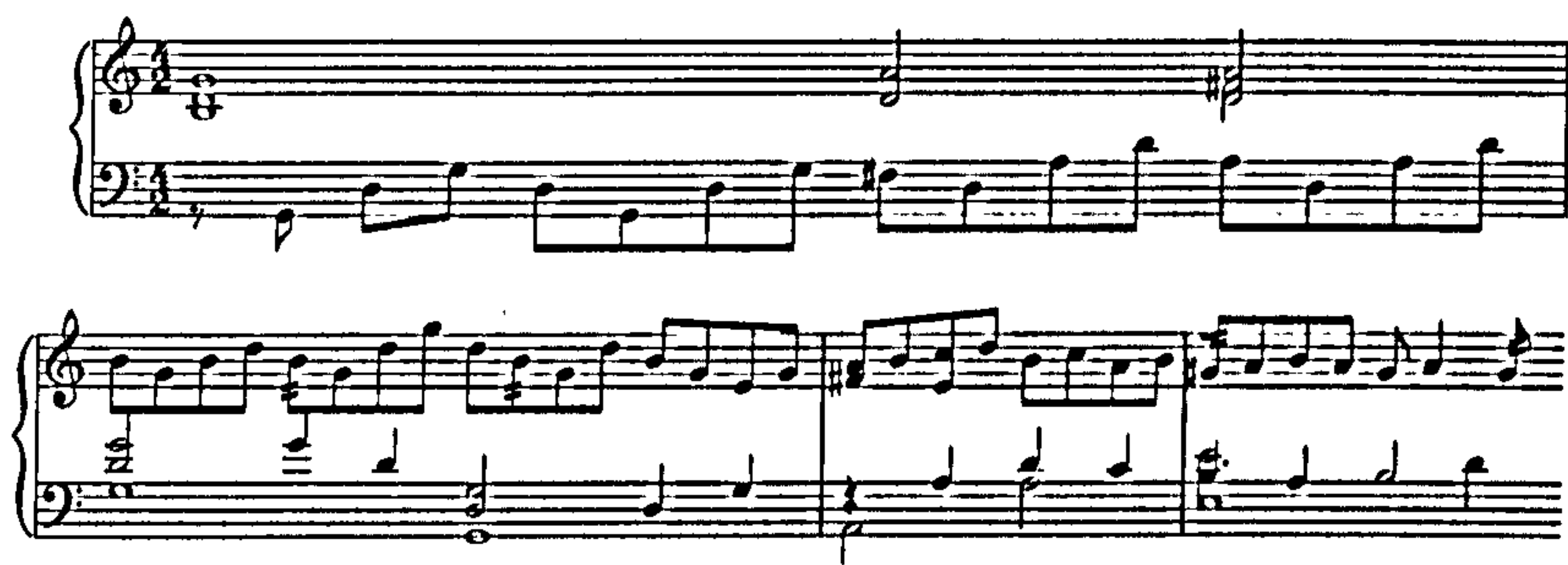
Example 5.35 John Bull, *The King's Hunt*, bars 10-11; [FwVB, p 116]

- hocket, meaning here [Dietrich's term] off-beat notes or chords against the *cantus firmus* on the beat (Example 5.36);



Example 5.36 John Bull, *The King's Hunt*, 3rd Reprise; [FwVB, p 117]

- finally, the decoration of the *cantus firmus* with arpeggios or broken chords (Example 5.37);



Example 5.37 William Byrd, *Variatio*. [FwVB, Volume 1, p 244]

Examples of all these can be found in Pachelbel; here, however, the distinction between the organ chorales and the partitas becomes more marked. The writing in the partita *Ach, was soll ich Sünder machen* is particularly rich in virginalistic techniques. *Variatio 1* (this is a common title of English variations) uses, especially at the cadence points, that enrichment of the contrapuntal texture by *stile brisé* arpeggiation that keeps the movement going and enhances the sonority, especially when played on a plucked stringed keyboard instrument. *Variatio 2* decorates the melody with the type of broken- chord figuration that we have seen in *Wir glauben all' an einen Gott*, (DTB 66), but hardly anywhere else in Pachelbel's works. *Varatio 3* also uses broken chords to elaborate the lines, and *stile brisé* arpeggiation at the

cadences. Parallel thirds abound. *Variatio* 4 has an elaborated bass line full of springing figures, arpeggios and broken chords, as does *Variatio* 5, this in *giga* rhythm. *Variatio* 6 is a *tour de force* in accompanying parallel thirds and sixths, with some passages using toccata-like broken-chord figuration. Were it not for this final variation the piece would seem to be more suited to the harpsichord; but this variation is unplayable without pedals.¹¹⁸ Perhaps the fact that these partitas in general were thought of as harpsichord pieces is why these types of treatment are more prominent in them than in the organ chorales.

Such consistent and overt use of the techniques derived originally from the virginalists as seen in *Ach was soll ich Sünder machen* is not to be found in the organ chorales, though touches of all the techniques mentioned can be found there. Pachelbel's bass lines in general, especially in the partita-type settings, are very mobile and energetic. In *Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr* (DTB 6), as we have seen, the energy of the bass line comes from the frequent use of octave leaps, rising fourths, and sequential *suspirans* figures tied on to each other; often the accompanying parts are in thirds, both exact (bar 7, 22), and elaborated (bar 11). Passages such as those in bars 17-20 and 29-30 are merely the places where complementary figures are used most consistently; the whole piece is to some degree permeated with this figuration. Decoration of the *cantus firmus* is almost unknown in Pachelbel's organ chorales, but I have shown that in the one instance where it does occur, *Wir glauben*, it owes much to the virginalists. Of the type of 'hocket' found in Bull there is no example in the partitas, but this technique is used in the first version of *Meine Seel' erhebt den Herren* (bars 12-13). In the *Magnificat* fugues, however, it makes frequent appearances. Belotti is of the opinion that many passages in parallel motion in Pachelbel's music, notated in even quavers in each hand, are to be played *arpeggiando*, that is, with the right hand on the off-beat semiquaver.¹¹⁹ This is the same technique. Although no passage in the organ chorales seems to beg to be so performed, perhaps a movement like Partita 8 of *Alle Menschen müssen sterben*

¹¹⁸ Was this variation added later?

¹¹⁹ Footnote to page 6, Belotti's edition of Pachelbel's Complete Works for Keyboard, Volume 1, and page xviii, where he gives a 'written-out' realisation of such a passage from one of Pachelbel's works, quoting from Anoka, *Thesaurus magnate artis musicae*, Prague, 1701.

should be so rendered.

The final layer of development in the treatment of a *cantus firmus* comes from Italy. Dietrich suggests four techniques that found their way into the German organ chorale:

- the rapid scales such as found in any of Merulo's toccatas;
- the texture of the *canzona alla francese*, short phrases separated by rests that exploit specific rhythms (Example 5.38), patterns often found in the *canzoni alla francese* of the Italian composers of the time;

Canzona alla francese rhythms

1

2

3

4

5

Example 5.38 *Canzona alla francese* rhythms

- rapidly repeated notes, *trillo*

- formulae, of which figures such as the *saltus duriusculus*, *passus duriusculus*, (Example 5.39) and *Ut re mi fa sol la* are the most striking.



Example 5.39 *Passus duriusculus*, *saltus duriusculus* (Merula, Sweelinck, Pachelbel)

Very rapid scale figures are found often in the partitas (Partita 12 of *Christus, der ist mein Leben*, *Variatio 3* of *Ach was soll ich Sünder machen*, Partita 5 of *Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan*), all in demisemiquavers. These do not occur in the organ chorales, though there are some examples in the free organ music (Toccata in C major, DTB Toccata 1), so presumably Pachelbel thought them not suitable because of the nature of the organ chorale, rather than not suited to the organ.

The rhythmic elements of the *canzona alla francese* became stock figures for counterpoint. This was helped by the fact that many chorales came to be accentuated with an initial up beat, either with ‘gathering note’¹²⁰ or not; therefore a fore-imitation would inevitably use one of these figures. A good example of this is the chorale *Ich hab’ mein’ Sach’ Gott heimgestellt* (DTB 36), where the initial point is the chorale melody without a gathering note. Other *canzona-alla-francese* figures are to be found in this chorale (bars 5, 6, and 9 for line 1 of Example 5.38 [page 249] and bar 23 for line 3 of the same example). Another example of this is *Der Tag, der ist so freudenreich* (DTB 18), where the initial point combines two of the rhythms. While Pachelbel does use these figures, his style of continuous contrapuntal lines means that the figures are embedded in the texture, rather than this being cut up into discrete snippets. *Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort* (DTB 25) is the nearest one gets to this disjointed style that was so common in Scheidt’s music, but this piece is not by Pachelbel. Indeed, it is precisely this feature that makes it unlikely that he wrote it.

¹²⁰ See footnote 45 on page 197.

Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein (DTB 64) demonstrates a much more typical use of the technique; the little figure that appears first in bar 11 in the bass, and then in 30 in the bass and alto parts, that comes to suffuse the whole texture is a *canzona-alla-francese* rhythm, but because it hardly ever starts with a rest it is not obvious. Indeed, these figures are most unremarkable precisely because they came to be such an integral part of the contrapuntal style. Nevertheless, a comparison with say the counterpoint of Hieronymus Praetorius will show what a texture without them was like. They enliven the texture rhythmically.

In *Variatio 3* of *Ach was soll ich Sünder machen* there is an extraordinary passage of rapidly repeated notes (bar 5) that is reminiscent of Bull, and of a similar passage in Pachelbel's smaller setting of *Vom Himmel hoch*. Repeated notes of the same kind are also found as a feature of Partita 2 of *Christus, der ist mein Leben*. Though rare, such a figure is very striking. A statelier version of this figure can be found in bars 26-32 of *O Mensch, beweine dein' Sünde groß* (DTB 54). The figure (*trillo*) comes into its own in Pachelbel's *Magnificat* fugues, where many of the subjects are made up of various versions of it.

The partitas provide spectacular examples of *passus duriusculus*. The four partitas that seem most likely to have been the original contents of *SterbensGedancken* all have one variation where the chromatic scale is 'over-exploited'. Partita 7 of *Alle Menschen müssen sterben* takes even this to an extreme; it is also noteworthy for its use of *canzona alla francese* figures separated by rests. *Saltus duriusculus* can be seen from time to time in the organ chorales, as has been pointed out, but Pachelbel uses it more in the free organ works (*Ricercari* in C minor and F sharp minor), while the diatonic formulae are used in the ground-bass pieces.

The organ chorales are somewhat like a palimpsest; in them can be seen the various layers of development of the techniques for setting a *cantus firmus*. These techniques had become such an integral part of the musical language by Pachelbel's time that none of them seems to stand out, to be out of place. Nevertheless, a closer look will reveal a mosaic-like assemblage of procedures from the past, integrated into a seamless and satisfying whole. To demonstrate this I shall analyse the chorale *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein* (Plate 13 – Matthaei, III, p 46; page 183 and Plate

The opening imitation of the first line of the chorale had become an integral part of the organ chorale since the time of Schlick, as has the fact that the *cantus firmus*, no longer in the bass, is split up into its constituent lines. The rhythm of the opening point is one of the *canzon- alla-francese* formulae. In bars 5 and 6 the early Paumann-school syncopated chordal style can be seen, with a springing figure in the bass. The last half of bar 7 and bar 8 have the accompanying parts moving in parallel thirds, partly decorated. Syncopated chordal style and springing figures appear again in bar 9. At the end of bar 10 the bass starts a phrase using a *canzona-alla-francese* rhythm and a springing rhythm (it occurs again in bars 15, 23 and in 26 without the springing figure, and is the final gesture of the piece in bar 27). In bars 13-15 the accompanying voices employ complementary figures (with a touch of syncopated chordal style in bar 14), while the passage can be thought of as imitative descanting, and both accompanying voices, especially the bass, are made up of springing figures. In bar 15, beside the accompanying voices being again in thirds using a *canzona alla francese* rhythm, the whole is an example of *faux bourdon*. In bar 16 and 17 there are springing figures in the bass, the accompaniment moves in thirds. The imitation that starts in bar 17, and goes on to bar 21, is an example of imitative descanting, using a *canzona-alla-francese* rhythm, while there are springing figures in the bass. Though the phrases used in this imitation are not the spectacular demisemiquaver runs that Merulo might have used in his toccatas, they are sufficiently striking and unlike anything seen before in this piece as to suggest toccata-like *tirate*. There are thirds in the accompaniment in bars 22 and 23, a touch of *passus duriusculus* in bar 22 (this so ‘out of character’ as surely to be more than a mere passing dissonance), *heterolepsis* at the end of bar 23, imitative descanting and syncopated chordal style in bars 24 and 25, thirds in the accompaniment in bar 26, *faux bourdon* in bars 26 and 27, and springing figures in the alto in bars 25-27.

That such a compact piece can contain so much, but so much that is so integrated and so much part of the ordinary musical language of this type of counterpoint as to be almost unremarkable, is indeed noteworthy. Whereas in the compositions of Scheidt, and also in Pachelbel’s own partitas, the imported techniques are plainly visible, perhaps even deliberately paraded, in Pachelbel’s organ chorales they are

completely integrated to form the musical language that Bach was to inherit, a modern language, rhythmically energetic, contrapuntally transparent, euphonious and polished, yet capable of great expressiveness. This was Pachelbel's achievement.

5.9 Some questions of authenticity: the manuscript history

Walther, in his *Musicalisches Lexicon oder musicalische Bibliothek* (1732), gives a list of the works of Pachelbel that had by that time (and actually during Pachelbel's lifetime) been published, including the *Musicalische SterbensGedancken* (1683 – four chorale partitas), and *Erster Theil etlicher Choräle, or Choräle zum Preambulieren* (1693), this latter being the collection of eight organ chorales already much referred to in this thesis. Unfortunately, no printed copy of either publication is extant; we are dependent on manuscript copies, and in the case of the first-named item we are not sure even which of the four chorale partitas comprised the original collection.¹²¹

As was then the custom, Pachelbel's other organ chorales were disseminated by means of manuscript copies circulated amongst organists. Eckelt's *Tabulaturbuch* of 1692, PL-Kj Mus. MS 40035,¹²² is amongst the earliest examples we have of such a compilation that contains works (not only organ chorales) by Pachelbel. This manuscript was in Berlin when Matthaei consulted it, but now finds itself in Krakow (according to Perreault, but it is lost). It contains only four organ chorales, but many other works for organ by Pachelbel.

The famous *Plauener Orgelbuch*, D-PL MS III.B.a.No:4, is another collection, dating from 1708, recopied in 1828.¹²³ This contains the largest number of chorales by Pachelbel in a single manuscript, there being 52 of these, some of them duplications. It was not made available to Matthaei, a circumstance that he regrets in the Preface to his edition. The manuscript is described as '1945 in *Plauen verbrannt*', or '*verschollen*' by Wolff.¹²⁴

¹²¹ Welter 1998, p 51; Walther's list of Pachelbel's published works.

¹²² Perreault 2004, p 290.

¹²³ *Ibid*, p 280.

¹²⁴ Preface (Wolff) to Zachow, *Sämliche Werke für Tasteninstrumente*, Breitkopf, Wiesbaden, 1966, p VII.

Very significant are those collections compiled by Walther, who was a keen collector of manuscripts, and an avid copyist. One of these is in the Berlin *Staatsbibliothek*: D-B Mus.MS 22541, called '*Walters Orgelbuch*', in three parts; parts I and II, those which contain organ chorales, have in them 11 of Pachelbel's pieces.¹²⁵ A second Walther collection is the so-called Scheurleer manuscript, named after the rescuer of it who bought it for the *Gemeentemuseum* in The Hague, [N-DHgm MS 4.G.14],¹²⁶ which contains 30 organ chorales by Pachelbel.¹²⁷ A third is in the Königsberg University collection, R-Kau MS 1583, called the 'Gotthold' manuscript, containing also 30 items by Pachelbel.¹²⁸ Unfortunately this last MS has been missing since World War II, perhaps even before, but there is a photograph of it at Winterthur.¹²⁹ As we have seen, Walther certainly emended the text either where he thought he could improve it, or perhaps bring it into line with the local version of the chorale melody; he also perhaps joined elements of compositions together that had been separated earlier in the transmission process. Nevertheless we owe it to him that so much has been preserved. (This is more especially the case with reference to Buxtehude's organ music.)

Also significant are the two manuscripts, one a copy of the other, copied by J. A. Drubs, today in the Berlin library; D-B Mus.MS 30245, with 22 items, and D-B MS P.806 (23 items).¹³⁰

More cut and dried are the copies of the published organ chorales, *Erster Theil etlicher Choräle*; D-B Mus.MS 16483 and 16483/1,¹³¹ this latter owned by Commer, containing the published chorales only (eight each), while a collection D-B Mus.MS 30280 contains a mixture of the published ones (four) and three others.¹³² The Berlin

¹²⁵ Perreault 2004, p 270.

¹²⁶ *Ibid*, p 290.

¹²⁷ Interestingly this manuscript, identified as being 'formerly in the possession of D.F. Scheurleer', could not be used by Matthaei in 1934, when he was preparing his edition.

¹²⁸ Perreault 2004, p 292.

¹²⁹ The Introduction to Joelsen-Strohbach 1987 tells the story of Matthaei's photographs. Joelsen-Strohbach has, starting from Matthaei's photographs, reconstructed those manuscripts that have been lost [Königsberg; Berlin 1439, 1440, 1491; Berlin *Hochschule für Musik* Mss. II 8345, 8385, 8391, and 8395; various of Seiffert's manuscripts; and one from Hamburg]. What he has put together is a description of the contents; the text of only those pages actually photographed by Matthaei (whose interest was Pachelbel's music) has survived; otherwise all we have is a description, sometimes conjectural, of the contents.

¹³⁰ Perreault 2004, pp 272 and 267.

¹³¹ *Ibid*, p 269.

¹³² *Ibid*, p 272.

Hochschule der Künste had three manuscripts, D-Bhm MS 1439, 1440, 1491, containing in all 14 items. The first had been copied in 1793 by Michael Gotthard Fischer; the second dates from 1826 and was in the hand of Rembt; all three are lost since World War II, but they exist as photographs in Winterthur. All three are collections that include works by other composers.

The other significant collection was that in Max Seiffert's library, previously owned by Ritter, '*Ritters Kollektaneen, 1884*', D-Bseiffert Pa. 398,¹³³ containing 22 organ chorales, along with a further collection of manuscripts without designations, 16 items in all. Seiffert was led astray by the index of Ritter's collection, assuming that Ritter saw much more than was actually the case. While the focus of his disappointment was the apparent loss of Weimar1704,¹³⁴ which we now know to hold no significant organ chorale by Pachelbel, there are nevertheless tantalising glimpses of lost works of a more substantial nature. Maybe they will turn up one day. Unfortunately MS Pa. 398, along with any part of Seiffert's library that was not photographed by Matthaei, was lost during World War II.¹³⁵

The Neumeister manuscript, US-NH L. M. Codex 4708, contains eight items at some time attributed to Pachelbel, (and possibly four more that actually are by him), besides many works by other composers.

As well as these substantial collections there are several manuscripts containing either single items or a group of two or three works.

All of the large collections listed above include works by more than one composer, and are copies of copies. Silbiger relates the 'reliability' of various types of manuscript collection to the purpose for which they were copied, pointing out that the needs of the 'recipient', even though he might possibly be the same person as the copyist, are crucial. 'Collectors' (of whom both Walther and Eckelt certainly, Dröbs and the copyist of the *Plauener Orgelbuch* probably, were examples) would have written accurate and clean copies of a wide range of high-quality pieces, probably

¹³³ *Ibid*, p 277.

¹³⁴ Even Williams, writing in 1984, can still be confused about this; he talks about 'the lost chorale collection of Pachelbel [Weimar1704].....apparently planned as a *repertorium* not unlike [the *Orgelbüchlein*]' Williams 1984, p 25.

¹³⁵ All these collections seem to have been available to Seiffert. Appendix 5, p 404 gives a discussion about the chorales he left out of his edition, and also about the incompleteness of Matthaei's edition.

being careful to ascribe the pieces accurately. If the copyist was a proficient player and intended to play from their copy, then there would be no need for simplification, though, as we have seen with Walther, this situation could give rise to 'improvement'. If the copyist/player was less gifted, or the intended recipient was, say, a pupil, then simplification would be quite a possibility, as would also the interspersing of simpler pieces, perhaps composed by the copyist. Such compilations Silbiger calls 'practice books', noting that the random order of their contents would have been governed by the availability of pieces to be copied, and the perceived ongoing need of the recipient; details of ascription might then not be relevant. If the copying were for publication, then we would find a neat and ordered copy, as indeed we do find in the case of Pachelbel's *Etlicher Choräle*. Silbiger also points out that, because various copies had different purposes, the text of the same piece copied in different sources might well vary. This variety might even stem from the composer himself, who indeed might not have a 'definitive' version of the work in mind, and may not have played what was written anyway, even if 'reading' from the copy.¹³⁶ In these circumstances we cannot talk about a 'reliable' text; texts varied between manuscripts, sometimes quite considerably.

A good example of variability between manuscripts is shown by the differences between the DTB texts of those chorales attributed to Pachelbel that later turned out to be by J. M. Bach, and the versions of these pieces that appear in the Neumeister manuscript. These differences are not such as would have been introduced to accommodate a lower or higher degree of playing proficiency. Small rearrangements of the rhythmic figuration of the inner parts are the most common alterations. Only twice does this involve the rearrangement of the parts themselves; mostly it is the question of a repeated semiquaver after a tie, or a leap of a third instead of the repetition of a note. Sometimes two notes in a group of four semiquavers are exchanged. Nowhere is the harmony changed, nowhere is the character of the piece altered in any way. There can here be no question of the pieces' being varied with any specific intention in mind; it seems to me that rather it is simply a case of those small alterations that a good improviser would introduce if he were playing the piece from memory, or perhaps even from the music. I surmise

¹³⁶ Alexander Silbiger, *The Solo Instrumentalist*, in Carter and Butt 2005, p 435-7. Joelson-Strohbach thinks that the Walther manuscripts R-Kau and Scheurleer were actually single sheets sewn together.

that if we had a richer crop of sources we would find yet more variant readings along the same lines. Perhaps there is no such thing as a 'definitive' version of these pieces, and the versions we have are as they are just by the chance of survival. In view of all this we can understand how 'unreliable' any given copy of a piece in our list of manuscripts might be regarding the 'accuracy' of its text.¹³⁷

An interesting view on this aspect of the problem is provided by Walther. Although Walther does provide variant readings, they are usually his own deliberate re-inventions of the piece. It seems that Walther was a poor improviser; in a letter to Bokemeyer¹³⁸ Walther writes asking whether Bokemeyer could get hold of a treatise on improvisation on chorale melodies by Hurlebusch, admitting that he himself, despite having given the matter a great deal of thought and tried very hard, is incapable of varying the chorales *ex tempore*. He is not ashamed of this, since he is a good composer, you can't be good at everything, but of course improvising is a greater skill, one his son younger son (J. C. Walther, later organist of Ulm Minster), then fourteen, is keen to learn. He'll pay whatever price is asked, he says, but asks Bokemeyer to keep it under his hat that he's asking, since this knowledge could be misused by the unscrupulous.¹³⁹ The impression is that Walther needed to have in front of him exactly what he was to play, even going to the extent of writing in the ornaments. This would explain why Walther was such an avid collector of manuscripts, why he wrote down so much of his own music, and why while copying and composing he added pernickety little ornaments. He also mentions in his letter

¹³⁷ *Gott hat das Evangelium* (DTB 32) is in B minor in DTB, A minor in Neumeister. There are differences between the texts in bars 14, 21, 31, 38, 40, 42 and 44.

Auf meinen lieben Gott (DTB 11) has a different chorale fughetta in each version. In the substantially similar chorale section there are differences between the texts in bars 28, 29, 30, 31, 39, 41, 44, 45, 46, 50 and 52.

Nun laßt uns Gott den Herren (DTB 51) shows differences between the texts in bars 1, 7, 9, 10, 11, 21, 24, 26, 27, 28, 31, 34, 35, 36, 37 and 38.

Nun freut euch, lieben Christen gemein (DTB 49) shows differences between the texts in bars 16, 19, 20, 32 and 36.

Wo Gott der Herr (DTB 68) is in G minor in DTB, E minor in Neumeister. There are differences between the texts in bars 1, 3, 5, 11, 13, 14. There is neither first- and second-time bar nor repeat in Neumeister. Further differences are to be found in bars 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 30 and 31, with an extra cadential bar in Neumeister.

Those chorales that might be thought to be by J. M. Bach that do not appear in the Neumeister manuscript (*Komm Gott Schöpfer; Gott Vater, der du deine Sonn'; Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist*) are given in Wolff's edition using the same text as in DTB.

¹³⁸ Heinrich Bokemeyer (1679-1751), Cantor at Wolfenbüttel.

¹³⁹ Johann Gottfried Walther, *Briefe*. Herausgegeben von Klaus Beckmann und Hans-Joachim Schulze, VEB, Leipzig, 1987, letter of 6th August, 1729, to Bokemeyer, pp 58-61. Appendix 5, page 407, gives a fuller extract (and translation) from this letter.

that hearing someone improvise like this gives him the same pleasure as it did the late-lamented Hieronymus Pachelbel (another poor improviser), and he designates this activity *inventio* (in distinction to *compositio*); he nevertheless regards composition as ‘writing down something *substantial*’ [*etwas reelles aufzusetzen*].

The unreliability of ascription in the manuscripts is particularly relevant to Pachelbel’s organ chorales. There are many ascriptions, either in the surviving manuscripts, or by editors at a later time, that are either questionable on grounds of style, or are contradicted by ascriptions in other manuscripts. Table 5.2 (below) shows the organ chorales that are of questionably authenticity (in other words, those the authenticity of which has been questioned, no matter how unreasonably, at some time or other). I list all the manuscripts in which these chorales occur, showing whether they are ascribed in them (‘_’ means no ascription; if a piece is ascribed, I show what exactly it says; also I say whether that ascription is in a later hand than the manuscript itself. My information comes mostly from Perreault’s thematic catalogue, which, although exhaustive and thorough, is full of mistakes, omissions and inaccurate cross references. This has been collated with Christoph Wolff’s preface to his edition of J. M. Bach’s organ chorales, with Seiffert’s Preface to the DTB Volume of Pachelbel’s organ works, and a brief view of Matthaei’s photographs.

Table 5.2

Ascriptions in the various manuscripts of organ chorales supposed to be by Pachelbel

Abbreviations of the various manuscripts used in this table:

D-B MS P.285 = 285	
D-B MS P.806 = Dröbs1	
D-B Mus.MS 22541 = 22541	(J. G. Walther)
D-B Mus.MS 30245 = Dröbs2	(copy of Dröbs 1)
D-B Mus.MS 30280 = 30280	
D-Bhm MS 1439 = 1439	(copy by Fischer, 1793)
D-Bhm MS 1440 = 1440	(copy by Rembt, 1826)
D-Bhm MS 1491 = 1491	
D-Bhm Various = Bhm var	
D-Bseiffert Pa.398 = 398	
D-Bseiffert ohne Signatur. = Seiff o Sig	
D-PL MS III.B.a.No:4 = Plauen	
N-D MS 4.G.4 = Scheurleer	
PL-Kj Mus.MS 40035 = Eckelt	

Chorale with DTB number	Manuscript ascription	
<i>Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr</i> DTB 6	Scheurleer Königsberg	J. P. signiert HB
<i>Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr</i> DTB 7	Bhm o Sig Plauen	– J. H. B.
<i>Auf meinen lieben Gott</i> DTB 11	398 Seiff o Sig Neumeister	– J. M. B. (later hand) J. M. Bach.
<i>Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht</i> DTB12	Königsberg Neumeister	J. P. J. S. Bach
<i>Christ lag in Todesbanden</i> DTB 13	285 22541	– J. P.
<i>Christ lag in Todesbanden</i> (Carus, p 58)	22541 1439 1440 1491 398 Neumeister	JHB HB HB di Joh Pachelbel: Heinrich Bach –
<i>Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund</i> DTB 15	398 Scheurleer	Heinrich Bach; J. P.
<i>Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt</i> DTB 16	22541	Heuschkel
<i>Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt</i> DTB 17	Dröbs1 Dröbs2 1439 Plauen	J. P.; – – J. P.
<i>Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort</i> DTB 25	Plauen Scheurleer Königsberg unknown	D. Buxteh – – –
<i>Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl</i>	Eckelt	–

DTB 26		
<i>Gott hat das Evangelium</i> DTB 32	Dröbs1 Dröbs2 30280 Scheurleer Neumeister	anon anon J. Pachelbel J. M. Bach J. M. Bach
<i>Gott Vater, der du deine Sonn'</i> DTB 33	Dröbs1 Dröbs2 Plauen Scheurleer Königsberg	– anon anon J. P.; –
<i>In dich hab' ich gehoffet, Herr</i> DTB 39	1491 398 Plauen Scheurleer Königsberg Neumeister gives a different piece	di Joh Pachelbel – J. M. Bach; J.P.; J. P.
<i>Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der den Tod</i> DTB 40	22541 Plauen	J. P. Armsdorff J. P.
<i>Komm, Gott, Schöpfer</i> DTB 43	22541	J. Pachelbel
<i>Komm, heiliger Geist</i> DTB 44	Dröbs1 22541 Plauen Eckelt	– – di And. Armsdorff –
<i>Mag ich Unglück nicht widerstahn</i> DTB 47	Plauen Scheurleer Königsberg Neumeister	J. M. B.; J. P. – J. M. Bach
<i>Nun freut euch,</i> DTB 49	Seif o Sig Neumeister	J. P. Pachelbel (in later hand); J. M. Bach

<i>Nun laß uns Gott,</i> DTB 51	Königsberg Neumeister	— J. M. Bach
<i>O Mensch, beweine' dein' Sünde groß</i> DTB 54	285 Bhm o Sig Bhm H.8391 Bhm o Sig <i>Einzelblatt</i> Unknown	— — von Joh Pachelbel — —
<i>Was mein Gott will</i> DTB 62	Seiff o Sig Seiff o Sig	— J. P. (later hand)
<i>Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält</i> DTB 68	Dröbs1 Dröbs2 1491 398 Plauen Scheurleer Königsberg Neumeister	J. M. Bach Johann Michael Bach di Joh Pachelbel — anon anon — (J. P. in Perreault) J. M. Bach
<i>Herr Jesu Christ, ich weiß gar wohl</i> (Matthaei III, p 90)	Bhm H. 8385 Bhm H. 8395	von Joh Pachelbel —

24 of the organ chorales attributed at one time to Pachelbel have had this attribution questioned. Of these the largest group is those now thought to be by J. M. Bach, most of which are of Type V (see page 142). The clarification of their authorship has been made possible by the discovery of the significance of the Neumeister manuscript, L. M. 4708, which, besides giving us a large number of hitherto unknown chorales by J. S. Bach, has brought to light a large number of chorales by J. M. Bach, and provided concordances with others previously thought to be by, among others, Pachelbel.

It is therefore possible to state with a great degree of certainty that the Type V chorales *Gott hat das Evangelium* (DTB 32), *Auf meinen lieben Gott* (DTB 11), *Mag*

ich Unglück nicht widerstand (DTB 47), *Nun laßt uns Gott* (DTB 51) and *Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält* (DTB 68) are by J. M. Bach. Their ascription to Pachelbel came about because many of them either were so ascribed in other manuscripts, or were described as anonymous in collections where many other items were by Pachelbel. As can be seen from the table, however, there were some that have consistently been ascribed to J. M. Bach and not to Pachelbel.

The stylistic similarity of this group of settings to Pachelbel's work has already been described, along with their distinct differences. In this class belong also *Gott Vater der du deine Sonn'* (DTB 33) and *Komm Gott, Schöpfer, heiliger Geist* (DTB 43). These two pieces are not in the Neumeister manuscript; Wolff, who includes them in his J. M. Bach publication (using the DTB texts verbatim) points out that their style is so similar to either Pachelbel's or J. M. Bach's that it is not possible to say who the author is.¹⁴⁰ On stylistic grounds *Komm Gott, Schöpfer, heiliger Geist* seems to me more likely to be by J. M. Bach, being an a4 accompaniment type, not a partita type, on account of the long gaps between the lines of the chorale, much in the style of J. M. Bach's accompaniment-type chorales. But the only other manuscript ascription, apart from the 'anon.' in the Neumeister manuscript, is to J. Pachelbel, in the *Plauener Orgelbuch*. Although *Gott Vater, der du deine Sonn'* in most respects seems to be an accompaniment type, it is really a partita type with exactly one and a half bars between each line of the chorales. In view of this it seems more likely that it is by Pachelbel, to whom it is ascribed in the Scheurleer manuscript.

One example of the Pachelbel combination-type chorale with the melody in the bass attributed to Pachelbel, *Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein* (DTB 49), is in fact by J. M. Bach. This piece, along with J. M. Bach's *Gott hat das Evangelium* (Carus, p 20), are the only examples of this 'unique-to-Pachelbel' type not actually written by him. Attributed to Pachelbel in Seiffert's (Ritter's) collection, *Nun freut euch* was doubtless thought to be by him because of its form; however, the opening fugal introduction, in three parts only, is a poor affair compared with Pachelbel's usual chorale fugue, and the chorale section is tame indeed. Interestingly enough, however, there is a modulation to E major that uses D sharp (bar 14), something unknown in a Pachelbel piece in G major. Does this suggest (along with the number

¹⁴⁰ Preface, Carus edition of the complete organ chorales of J. M. Bach, ed. Christoph Wolff, p 7.

of J. M. Bach chorales in E minor) that Bach had this key on the organ tuned to D sharp rather than E flat? The ascription in the Neumeister manuscript surely correctly ascribes the piece to J. M. Bach.

There is one doubtful ascription to J. M. Bach that is not cleared up by Neumeister. The setting of *In dich hab' ich gehoffet* in Neumeister is a completely different piece from the setting of the same chorale that is DTB 39. The ascription of DTB 39 to J. M. Bach comes from the *Plauener Orgelbuch*. In D-Bhm MS 1491, Scheurleer and R-Kau the piece is attributed quite clearly to Pachelbel. Wolff does not mention the piece in the Carus edition. It is so typical of Pachelbel's chorale fughetts that there seems no reason to disagree with the preponderance of attributions in the manuscripts to Pachelbel. But a similar situation actually arises with the chorale fughetts in the Neumeister manuscript on *Kommt her zu mir, spricht Gottes Sohn; Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt; and Ich ruf' zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ* (the chorale fughetta, labelled 'I' by Wolff and placed first in his edition, but actually coming after the other setting in the MS). The first two are attributed in the manuscript to J. M. Bach; the last is not attributed. There being no concordances, Wolff has accepted the attributions as correct, and attributes the last also [but in brackets!] to J. M. Bach. If these attributions are correct, however, that makes them the only examples of this type of chorale fughetta by Bach. This makes me suspicious. Whether the ascriptions in the Neumeister manuscript are correct is not absolutely certain; Wolff in all but one case accepts them, suggesting also that, where a piece is not ascribed, it was written by the composer of the preceding piece (though he is not quite consistent in this). Nevertheless, in one case he attributes on stylistic grounds to Buttsdedt a piece (*Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein*) that is clearly given in the manuscript as being by J. M. Bach. I shall have reason later to question another attribution. But regarding these three chorale fughetts, it seems to me that they display that particular 'fingerprint' of Pachelbel, the entries in the cantus and the bass that lie outside the normal ambitus of those voices; their general style is so indistinguishable from Pachelbel's, that if a concordance were to surface that attributed them to Pachelbel I should not be surprised.

Although a thorough study of J. M. Bach's style would be out of place here, it is possible to make some brief comments on his style. As regards overall form, the a4

or a3 accompaniment-type organ chorale with extended fore-imitation of the first line is relatively common. In 26 organ chorales it occurs eight times, beside the five previously ascribed to Pachelbel, 13 in all. There are two further a4 accompaniment-type chorales without any introduction, and one a3. Stand-alone chorale fugues are rare, there being, other than that previously (but no longer) ascribed to Pachelbel [*In dich ich hab' ich gehoffet* (DTB 39)], only the three discussed in the previous paragraph. There are two combination-type chorales with the melody in the bass in imitation of Pachelbel's 'unique' scheme. The remainder of Bach's chorales do not really fit into a Pachelbel-type classification, and include also four partitas.

Bach is less concerned to provide a straight-forwardly fugal introduction. He often starts a piece straight in with the *cantus firmus*; sometimes a 'fugal' introduction is masked by non-thematic voice entries; sometimes it is extremely short and based on a motif not derived from the chorale; sometimes there is a homophonic introduction, sometimes an apostrophe. There are one or two examples of the melody presented as a *cantus firmus* but not in long notes, the most spectacular example of which is *Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr* (Carus, p 36). Here there is (unusually for Bach) a fugal introduction to each line, but the chorale melody is presented on a different manual, harmonised homophonically, and not in augmentation.

Bach is capable of flights of fancy. The three-part setting of *In dulci jubilo* (Carus p 26), attributed to J. S. Bach (BWV 751), presents the chorale over long pedals in a delightful fashion reminding one of Buxtehude's *Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern*. This setting also presents the *cantus firmus* twice, the second time in the dominant. Some of the partita movements are similar to Pachelbel's partita movements, with rapid figuration in all parts, though there is only one *bicinium* in the whole collection.

I think it is possible to define the difference between Bach's and Pachelbel's style. Bach is somehow less imaginative with his counterpoint than Pachelbel. Comparing Bach's *Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ* (Carus p 24), at one time thought to be by J. S. Bach (BWV 723) with some chorales by Pachelbel shows the difference. Bach starts imaginatively with a fugal introduction not unlike that for Pachelbel's smaller *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein*; indeed the *epizeuxis* that introduces the bass entry (bars 5-6) could be a direct quotation. But whereas Pachelbel uses the figures and their

rhythmical complexity throughout the piece, with many passages of complementary figuration and syncopation enlivening the counterpoint underneath the *cantus firmus*, Bach's part-writing becomes very staid as soon as the melody appears. There are too many bars with the same plain rhythms; semiquavers never appear after their initial appearance in bars 5 and 6; there are too few adventurous dissonances. The whole, although resembling Pachelbel's piece, is somewhat tame. Compared with Pachelbel's setting of the same chorale, Bach's piece lacks that feeling of joy at the birth of the Saviour. To be fair, it must be said that occasionally Bach does write pieces of the highest quality; the second version of *Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein* (Carus, p 18), is one such, but such felicity is rare. It is perhaps no coincidence that Bach's best pieces, the a4 accompaniment-type chorales with extended fore-imitation, are those that were attributed to Pachelbel. Whether he got his ideas from Pachelbel, or, being eight years senior, gave them to him, it is not possible to say.

I now consider the chorales attributed to other composers. Two organ chorales are attributed to Heinrich Bach, father of J. M. and J. C. Bach, on the strength of ascriptions in Ritter's manuscript (D-Bseiffert Pa. 398). Concerning *Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund* (DTB 15), the simple motet style, with the tactus written in minims and no note shorter than a crotchet, might well suggest an earlier composer than one of Pachelbel's generation. Mattheson does not assign a manuscript source to the piece. Were the piece by Heinrich Bach, its transmission through the J. M. Bach/Pachelbel sources available to J. G. Walther might explain its attribution to Pachelbel. The case with *Christ lag in Todesbanden* (Carus p 58) is different. Although this piece is also in a simple motet style, again with a minim tactus and a few decorative quavers only, there are other features that would make it unlikely to have been written earlier than Pachelbel's time. The harmony is vigorous and firm in an almost 'Bachian (J. S.)' way. The bass part is a perfect pedal part, entering only with the theme. Low C sharp is used, a note not usually available on organs even of J. S. Bach's time. The clinching matter, however, is that the tune has been modified by the addition of a C sharp. Pachelbel does not do this in his large setting (even if someone else later altered it), and it seems unlikely that Heinrich Bach would have done it, even though he lived until 1692. While the ascription *HB* does appear in Ritter's manuscript with

respect to this chorale, it could well be that this signature is a misreading of the *JHB* that occurs in the manuscript D-B MS 22541, and has also been confused with *Johann Bachelbel*, as Pachelbel was also called.¹⁴¹ *JHB* is more likely, however, to have been that of Pachelbel's pupil J. H. Buttstedt, rather than either Pachelbel, who seems to have had no middle name, or Heinrich Bach, who was one of those members of the Bach family who did not carry the name Johann.

Buttstedt was one of a number of Pachelbel's pupils who wrote music in his style. A teacher of J. G. Walther, he stands in the line of transmission of these pieces. Two other pieces are ascribed to him. *Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr* (DTB 7) bears a superficial resemblance to Pachelbel's large-scale combination chorales with the melody in the bass. The opening fughetta, however, is quite unlike anything else Pachelbel wrote, with its continuous semiquaver subject. All the other introductory chorale fughetts are in '*alla-breve*' style, this contrasting starkly with the following chorale section with its continuous running semiquaver texture. Here this running semiquaver style permeates the whole composition. And although the voice-leading in this introductory section is immaculate enough, even for Pachelbel, when the tune enters in the pedals the texture changes completely, with demisemiquaver *tirate*, harpsichord figuration, sudden full chords punctuated with rests, and abrupt sober contrapuntal interjections. While indeed there are similarities with the partitas, for a church composition this seems all very unlikely for Pachelbel. Attributed to '*JHB*' in the *Plauener Orgelbuch*, the other manuscripts in which it appears leave it unasccribed.

The other attribution, of the smaller *Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr* (DTB 6), to Buttstedt is, it seems to me, much more unlikely. Ascribed to '*J. P.*' in the Scheurleer manuscript, the ascription to Buttstedt arises from the designation '*signiert HB*' in the Königsberg manuscript. This piece is so typical of Pachelbel's a3 partita type in so many ways, and also of his general contrapuntal style, that it seems strange to think of its not being by him. If the piece is really by Buttstedt, then, judging by this and the other setting of the same chorale, he must have been a very fine composer indeed. Unfortunately the other pieces known to be by him do not confirm this judgement.

¹⁴¹ Joelsen-Strohbach 1987, p 114, footnote 29, explains the situation of the mistaking of *JHB* for *HB* by Rembt, the copyist of D-Bhm MS 1440, and excludes the possibility of *Christ lag in Todesbanden* being by Heinrich Bach.

Seiffert entertains the same doubts but comes to the conclusion that the piece is by Pachelbel.¹⁴² After all, is it likely that Pachelbel wrote no setting(s) of this chorale? Maybe he did, but it (they) got lost.

The settings of *Es spricht der Unweisen* (DTB 26) (Scheidemann), and *Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort*, (DTB 25) (Buxtehude/Böhm), have already been discussed. There can be no question here of music in the style of Pachelbel having found its way into the transmission chain because of a similarity of style. Although both of these pieces are in the DTB collection, they have long been recognised as not being by Pachelbel, and do not appear in Matthaei's edition. The Scheidemann piece, imputed to Pachelbel in the *Eckelt Tabulaturbuch* (PL-Kj Mus. MS 40035), where it is actually unascribed, but where most of the other pieces are ascribed to 'J. P.', can be certainly identified. The Buxtehude/Böhm is more of a supposition. Attributed to no composer in three manuscripts (but in one of which the title tells us that the organ chorales are by Pachelbel and Buxtehude), it is ascribed to Buxtehude in the *Plauener Orgelbuch*. Even so, as has already been indicated, this is somewhat unlikely. Spitta claimed to have had an autograph (the Scheurleer, N-DHgm MS 4. G 14) of 'the piece signed by Böhm',¹⁴³ though Perreault gives no indication of this; Seiffert is aware of the problem, says that Spitta couldn't make up his mind, prints it nevertheless in both his (Seiffert's) Buxtehude and Pachelbel collections, but accepts that eventually 'it will be reclaimed for Böhm'. Böhm has been the suggestion embraced by modern scholarship, though the piece still appears in modern scholarly editions of both Böhm's and Buxtehude's works. What is certain is that it is no longer thought to be by Pachelbel.

Two remaining settings are more problematical. *Komm, heiliger Geist, Herre Gott* (DTB 44), unascribed by Eckelt (among others), given as being 'di And. Armsdorf' in the *Plauener Orgelbuch*, contains a number of features alien to Pachelbel's usual church style. The abrupt cutting off of the initial fugue subject at the point where the second voice enters is ineffective and confusing. The use of the gathering note for every entry of the fugue subject is unlike Pachelbel's normal usage, and its absence from the final entry (bar 22), and the fact of this being in the soprano rather than the tenor or bass, are also further divergences from Pachelbel's norm. The passage in

¹⁴² Seiffert 1903, p XVIII.

¹⁴³ *Ibid*, p XX.

bars 17-18 introduces non-contrapuntal instrumental figuration in the middle of a piece of counterpoint. Nevertheless, these features notwithstanding, the piece sounds remarkably like Pachelbel. Matthaei states it as being from MS 22541 (which contains various other *incerta*), but writes ‘Author: A. Armsdorf?’ Andreas Armsdorf (1670-1699) was a writer of popular organ chorales, some of which have survived. He must have grown up and worked in Erfurt while Pachelbel was there. Whether a pupil of the master or not, he must have been influenced by him.

Was mein Gott will (DTB 62) again has many features found in Pachelbel’s other works. The completely regular fore-imitation, the strict three-part texture without part crossing, the descending sequences with the decorated suspensions, these are all familiar from other partita-type a3 settings. However, the final note of all the lines is extended quite considerably, and the opportunity is taken in these places to write a florid decorative passage in thirds and sixths. The first time this happens, triplet quavers are introduced, an interpolation in the texture that is untypical and sounds rather archaic.¹⁴⁴ As is usual with Pachelbel, where the same melody is repeated (as it often is in this chorale) the treatment is exactly the same, though when this triplet passage just mentioned comes around for the third time (bars 35-38), the triplets are turned into *figure corte*.¹⁴⁵ Despite the rhythmic interest of the decorated suspensions (bars 22-23, 28-29) the feeling is that this decoration has been imported into these passages only and does not suffuse the whole piece, which otherwise is a little plain. The overall impression is of something archaic. Kittel has been mentioned as a possible composer, though the Johann Heinrich Kittel (1652-82), of Dresden, a member of a musical dynasty, seems a more likely candidate than J. S. Bach’s pupil, Johann Christian Kittel (1732-1809). Certainly the piece sounds unlike anything else among Pachelbel’s organ chorales.

This brings us to those *incerta* that supposedly date from after Pachelbel’s time, presumed to be the works of J. G. Walther and J. S. Bach. *Christe, der du bist Tag*

¹⁴⁴ The only other example of this found in the organ chorales is in Variatio 4 of *Werde munter, mein Gemüte* (apart from in the Scheidemann work discussed above).

¹⁴⁵ Dietrich 1932, p 74. Dietrich cites *Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist* as a good example of a part of the *cantus firmus* that is repeated (not the *Stollen* being repeated) receiving identical treatment each time it appears. An equally good example of this is the other setting (*bicinium*) of *Was mein Gott will* (DTB 61).

und Licht (DTB 12, BWV 1096), in its small-scale perfection, had, until the unearthing of the Neumeister manuscript, survived only as we see it in the Königsberg manuscript, R-Kau MS 15839; it might perhaps from its style have been thought to be by Bach, reminiscent as it is of his chorale fughetts. A new light is thrown on the piece, however, in that it appears in the Neumeister manuscript, there attributed to J. S. Bach, (now given the number BWV 1096). This version in the Neumeister manuscript is very similar to the other; obviously it is, despite some minor differences, the same piece as that in the Königsberg manuscript, but is continued in a most Pachelbel-like way into a succeeding *cantus-firmus* setting of the chorale with the melody in the cantus. Is the piece, all of it, by Pachelbel? Is the chorale fughetta by Pachelbel, (or J. M. Bach), the continuation by J. S. Bach? Is the whole piece by J. S. Bach?

The ascription in R-Kau MS 15839 is quite clearly to ‘J. P.’. Of this manuscript, entitled “*Choralvorsp. von Joh. Pachelbel Dietr. Buxtehude.....1847*”, there survives only 30 organ chorales photographed by Matthaei. Most are ascribed to ‘J. P.’, though one, DTB 6, is ascribed ‘*signiert HB*’, one is described as ‘*anon*’, and five (four by J. M. Bach and one by Buxtehude or Böhm) are not ascribed. Despite its date, much of it appears to be in J. G. Walther’s hand, and three of the pieces are fragments, in that they present the chorale section only of larger pieces found complete elsewhere. There seems then little doubt that the chorale in question, which consists only of the chorale fughetta (Seiffert confirms this, describing the piece as having an ‘*etwas gewaltsame[n] Schluß*’ [a somewhat abrupt ending]), is by Pachelbel. There are, though, no other concordances for it apart from that in the Neumeister manuscript. Seiffert says of it, *pace* its abrupt ending, that it is yet another example of the beginning of a larger setting, the rest of which has not been preserved.¹⁴⁶

There is a possibility that the introductory chorale fughetta is by Pachelbel, the ‘continuation’ by J.S. Bach. Though this seems on the face of it unlikely, there is the possible example of *Der Tag, der ist so freudenreich*, BWV 719, a piece that might just conceivably be a chorale fughetta by someone other than Bach, with the toccata-like continuation (bar 24 onwards) being Bach’s ‘continuation’ of the piece. But the

¹⁴⁶ Seiffert 1093, p XVIII: ‘*Das Stück ist, wie der gewaltsame Schluß beweist, wieder nur der Anfang einer größeren Bearbeitung, die nicht erhalten ist.*’

continuation of *Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht* is so seamless and idiomatic that it would seem unlikely that the two halves are by different composers. Even so, Williams suggests that such a procedure in itself would have been quite possible.¹⁴⁷

Wolff also suggests this possibility by asking the rhetorical question, whether Bach could have taken a concrete Pachelbel model as a point of departure and expanded on it. He dismisses this, however, on the rather oblique grounds that the version in the Königsberg manuscript is ‘a corrupted version’. Quite what this has to do with the argument I cannot see. Then he casts doubt on the authenticity of the ascription to Pachelbel, first by saying dismissively (using the expression ‘apparently under Pachelbel’s name’) that the ascription to Pachelbel in MS R-Kau 15839 is to be understood not as evidence that Pachelbel wrote it, but is rather ‘an indication of Pachelbel’s influence on the chorale style of the early Bach.’ Then, despite having framed his rhetorical question in a way to suggest that Bach might have taken a piece by Pachelbel as a starting point for a compositional exercise, Wolff then suggests instead that J. M. Bach might have written it. He pre-empts criticism of his dismissal of the reliability of the ascription in the manuscript (which according to him says ‘*“Bach:”* or some variant?’) by saying that the manuscript is now destroyed, so cannot be checked out. He ends with a rather chauvinistic statement that J. M. Bach’s influence on J. S. Bach was more important than Pachelbel’s.¹⁴⁸

Wolff is not consistent here. He dismisses the idea that J. S. Bach continued a given opening. If he ascribes the piece to J. S. Bach, then, consistent with this view, Bach must have written all of it. If Pachelbel or J. M. Bach wrote the first part, then J. S. Bach could not have written any of it, and the ascription in Neumeister is mistaken. In view of Wolff’s acceptance of the ascription to J. S. Bach, however, his comments about J. M. Bach can have no meaning, and are a gratuitous sideswipe at Pachelbel. Further, although the manuscript may well have been destroyed, there is a photograph of it, made by Matthaei, at Winterthur; therefore the ascription can be checked. Although there are, as we have said, pieces known to be by J. M. Bach in the Königsberg manuscript, none of these is there mistakenly ascribed to Pachelbel (*‘J. P.’*). In view of this the ascription to Pachelbel in that manuscript seems most

¹⁴⁷ Williams 2003, p 550. He writes: ‘The possibility that one Thuringian organist added a section to a pre-existing fughetta composed by another, so as to give the hymn a full *cantus*, is plausible [.....]’

¹⁴⁸ Wolff, Introduction to the facsimile edition of the Neumeister manuscript, p 9.

likely to be the correct one.

The text of that part of the piece that occurs in both manuscripts varies between them, but it seems to me that the differences are similar to those between the 'J. S. Bach' version of *Christ lag in Todesbanden* (DTB 13) and the original Pachelbel version. They are mostly the addition of G and D sharps to dilute the modal flavour of the original. I think it very unlikely that the 'corruption' would have been in the direction of the removal of these accidentals. The Neumeister text is thus much more likely to be the corrupt one. Perhaps we have a case of J. S. Bach's having written down the complete piece from a corrupt version, similar to the case, perhaps, with *Christ lag in Todesbanden*; the 'Bach' manuscript has gone missing, but not before someone wrote it down as being by Bach on the strength of its being in his hand.¹⁴⁹

If *Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht* is by not by J. S. Bach, then we have to countenance a false ascription in the Neumeister manuscript. Williams hedges his bets by saying, a propos the whole Neumeister Bach ascriptions, 'if authentic', i. e. authentic J. S. Bach.¹⁵⁰ Williams also points out that the ascriptions to J. S. Bach in the Neumeister are various ('J. Seb: Bach', 'Joh. Sebast. Bach', and, mostly, 'J. S. Bach.') I would draw attention to Williams' later remark that the confusion between *Bach/Pach/Pachelbel* 'might now and then bear on the question of authorship'.¹⁵¹ The only ascription to Pachelbel in the Neumeister manuscript (*Allein zu dir, Herr Jesus Christ*, DTB 8, first version only), calls the composer 'Bachelbel'. The initial, supposedly a 'J', inscribed in front of this name, looks more like a 'P', and is nothing like the other 'J's found in 'J.S. Bach' and 'J. M. Bach'. To my eye the writing of the ascriptions is different from the music manuscript or the titles (but like the page numbers), so different as to suggest that the ascriptions were added at a different time, using a different pen and calligraphic style, perhaps by a different person. Having said all that, it must be conceded that the ascription of *Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht*, is unambiguously to 'J. S. Bach', as his name is most often written in this manuscript. The Neumeister collection was, however, assembled from an earlier one only in the 1790s. Such ascriptions as are found in Neumeister could either have

¹⁴⁹ Williams writes: 'Another [suggestion, regarding the authenticity of the chorales in the Neumeister collection] is [that] J. S. Bach could have arranged or made versions of works circulating under other composer's names, particularly Pachelbel.' Williams 2003, p 542.

¹⁵⁰ Williams 2003, p 543.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

been carried over from that earlier source, that however not guaranteeing their accuracy, or have been added in the 1790s. As has been seen with the other manuscripts discussed, manuscript ascriptions are a doubtful commodity. Should an earlier source have said for this piece '*J. Bach*', we could be sure that Pachelbel had been meant, rather than J. S. Bach, whose name was Sebastian, and whose '*J.*' was almost honorific. The possibility of the piece's having been ascribed with one or other of these ambiguous titles in the earlier source, which ascription was then mistaken for J. S. Bach when the piece was copied, must be real enough. As has been mentioned, Wolff himself is quite prepared to dispute the ascriptions in the Neumeister manuscript; if he can be right in this, then other ascriptions are equally open to challenge.

More telling in this case, however, is the style of the piece. The introductory fughetta is typical of Pachelbel (but not of J. M. Bach), being in four parts, with the usual two out-of-ambitus entries of the subject, one in the cantus, the other in the bass. The appearance of this introductory fughetta as a 'bleeding chunk' in the Königsberg manuscript causes no surprise; Seiffert's surmise that it is the separated part of a previously united composition is vindicated by the appearance of the whole composition in the Neumeister manuscript. There turned out after all to be a typically Pachelbel accompaniment-type setting with the melody in the cantus in existence. The only imponderable is then the ascription in the Neumeister manuscript. This ascription might be challenged on stylistic grounds, too. J. S. Bach does not write this type of piece, a fully developed chorale fughetta using all four parts, followed by a *cantus-firmus* accompaniment-type setting. The nearest he comes to it is in, first, *Durch Adams Fall* (BWV 1101). Here the preceding fughetta is really only in three parts, with a 'false' entry of the fourth part playing the *cantus firmus* and then thinking better of it; it is more like a Type III partita-type prelude or a setting by J. M. Bach. Second there is *Ehre sei dir* (BWV 1097), which, although introducing a *cantus firmus* setting with a chorale fughetta, does not present the *cantus firmus* in augmentation; the same can be said of *Durch Adams Fall*. Third, *Ach Gott, thu dich erbarmen* (BWV 1109) is indeed a *cantus firmus* setting, introduced by a fully developed chorale fughetta, but in many ways quite different in style from anything that Pachelbel wrote. Nowhere else does Bach ever come close to writing (if he did)

such a ‘typical Pachelbel’ piece as *Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht*. To set aside the evidence that the opening fughetta is by Pachelbel and to maintain that Bach wrote the whole piece seems to me wide of the mark. To seek to do this by offering, as an alternative explanation for the genesis of the piece to the one given above, the idea that although the introductory fughetta has been transmitted as being by Pachelbel (as Wolff says ‘apparently under Pachelbel’s name’), and that this merely ‘seems to indicate Pachelbel’s influence on the chorale style of the early Bach’, is special pleading. I maintain that there is less reason to doubt this ascription than to accept it, which makes it most likely the whole piece was written by Pachelbel.¹⁵²

Seiffert, indeed, maintains that in creating this ‘combination type’ Pachelbel was without predecessors or successors. Because the pieces (according to Seiffert) were written for the specific purpose of Pachelbel’s end-of-year examination recital, they were of no use in their complete form for anything else, which is why J. G. Walther (Seiffert thinks) dismembered them. That Bach should have written just one example of such a ‘useless’ (so Seiffert) piece, and that such a ‘perfect’ example of Pachelbel’s unique art, seems to me most unlikely. With such sentiments, and with all appropriate respects to Christoph Wolff, I rest my case that *Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht*, BWV 1096, was, all of it, written by Johann Pachelbel, and that we have here a rediscovered but misattributed setting that completes the fragment printed by Seiffert.

¹⁵² Williams maintains the possibility that the piece is a pastiche by ‘a Thuringian imitator of Pachelbel such as J. M. or J. S. Bach’, (Williams 2003, p 550), a statement that raises all sorts of questions. The overriding impression of the J. S. Bach Neumeister chorales is of disappointment; here is a newly discovered manuscript of J. S. Bach, (*pace* Hermann Hesse’s *The Glass Bead Game*) which we have all been waiting for with an expectation of hearing yet more of the characteristically wonderful unique expressivity contained in his (or *mutatis mutandis* Elgar’s, Mahler’s or whomever’s) music, and when we hear it we have to adjust, and accept that it’s only immature stuff after all (written when JSB was aged 15 or so, according to Williams), but with a hint of things to come, etc., etc.. This I find hard to take; there are plenty of ‘immature’ (= early) works by Bach (the C minor Passacaglia, for example) that are far from ‘immature’ in the sense that the Neumeister chorales are, and breathe that spirit that makes Bach’s work unique; there are works that are technically ‘immature’ but still have that same spirit. I just don’t find them in the Neumeister collection. (Wolff does concede that these Bach pieces were considered by the composer himself as being of a lower level of proficiency than the *Orgelbüchlein* chorales, and were not given to his pupils to study [Introduction to the facsimile edition of the Neumeister manuscript, p 9]). What I do find particularly in this organ chorale (*Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht*) is music that, while not breathing the spirit of J. S. Bach, is not immature in technical terms, but, if seen/heard by ‘innocent eyes/ears’, would be counted as a work by either ‘a Thuringian imitator of Pachelbel such as J. M [but not J. S.] Bach’, or something by the man himself. In saying this I join the company of Christoph Wolff in appending my ‘treacherous subjective response’ (Williams, 2003, p 542) to the arguments above.

J. S. Bach

Schritte der du bist Tag und Nacht. 2. Wir danken dir Herr Für Christ

Plate 15 Manuscript of Pachelbel *Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht* (attr. J. S. Bach), showing clearly the ascription in the manuscript to J. S. Bach. Neumeister manuscript, US-NH L.M. Codex 4708, p 36. (Bärenreiter)

37.



Plate 16 Manuscript of Pachelbel *Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht* (attr. J. S. Bach). Neumeister manuscript, US-NH L.M.
Codex 4708, p 37.
(Bärenreiter)

The ascriptions of *O Mensch, beweine dein Sünde groß* (DTB 54, BWV Anhang 61) and *Christ lag in Todesbanden* (DTB 13), to J. S. Bach, are not convincing, either. Both are found together in the 'Bach' manuscript D-B MS P.285 (= Bach P.285), which is presumably why they were ascribed to him. The simple three-part counterpoint with the bass taking the melody in *O Mensch* is not found like this in Bach's works; it resembles more the style of Pachelbel. The one striking feature of the piece is the reiterated notes (marked in the manuscript with the tenuto marks) in bars 30 and 31; these might well be understood as illustrating the nails being knocked into Christ's hands and feet as 'he gave life to the dead' [*Den Toten er das Leben gab*]. While such things were stock in trade for Bach's settings, they were, as I hope I have demonstrated, a feature also of Pachelbel's way of writing. Apart from this touch, the counterpoint is rather unimaginative when compared even with other pieces by Pachelbel, and it seems to me unlikely that Bach would have written it. There are other manuscripts of this piece as a single work, in one of which it is definitely attributed to Pachelbel (D-Bhm MS H.8391).

The other, flagrant, misattribution to J. S. Bach of an organ chorale by Pachelbel is of the large setting of *Christ lag in Todesbanden* (DTB 13). While this work is certainly by Pachelbel, the inclusion of it in the BWV is made interesting by the fact that the piece is considerably altered in the 'Bach' version. Possibilities are that Bach himself wrote it out from a now disappeared source (by Walther?) that incorporated the alterations; that he wrote it out from the source that gives it in its usual guise but altered it as he did so; that he wrote it down in an altered form from memory. The editors of the Bach Gesellschaft edition discovered the altered version in manuscript (in Bach's hand – D-B MS P.285) and presumably assumed that he had composed it. It is instructive that a similarly altered version (slight differences in the passagework, the pedal *cantus firmus* not doubled in the manuals) exists of *Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland* (DTB 50). Seiffert maintains that this version, Walther's copy, was taken from a source that was not as reliable as the version (actually a printed version by Commer) which he, Seiffert, incorporated in DTB. *Christ lag in Todesbanden* is most certainly by Pachelbel, not Bach.¹⁵³

¹⁵³ Another explanation for these versions could be the same as that for Walther's version of *Wenn*

The ascription of *Herr Jesu Christ, ich weiß gar wohl* (DTB 13) to J. G. Walther raises the whole problem of the confusion of scribe and composer in manuscript transmission. While nothing in the style of the piece suggests that it is not by Pachelbel, this is not to say that Walther, rather than copying it, could not have deliberately aped Pachelbel's style in a composition of his own, though this seems to me unlikely.¹⁵⁴ The *reductio ad absurdum* of this argument would be that any organ chorale written out by Walther could be one of his own compositions. For instance, Perrault imputes to Joelson-Strohbach the supposition that *Komm, heiliger Geist, Herre Gott* (DTB 44), already discussed as being by Armsdorf, might be by Walther.¹⁵⁵ *Herr Jesu Christ, ich weiß gar wohl* appears in Matthaei's list of sources as coming from a manuscript that has it and nothing else in it, D-Bhm MS H 8395. This manuscript, however, does not appear in his list of manuscripts at the top of the page (Matthaei III, page following p 94). The piece is indeed to be found in D-Bhm MS H. 8395, an *Einzelblatt*, and in D-Bhm MS H. 8385. The former of these two was found together with Walther manuscripts that bore his initials.¹⁵⁶ Joelson-Strohbach suggests that it was because of this proximity that Commer was misled into ascribing the piece to Walther, even though there is no question of these manuscripts having been copied by him (though they may well be copies of his manuscripts).

In discussing *Herr Jesu Christ, ich weiß gar wohl*, Perreault is more specific in questioning the ascription to Pachelbel, citing Dietrich 1932, p 96, in an entry in the inclusive list at the end of his book. The relevant entry for this chorale reads: '*J. Pachelbel: Vorsp. (Fuge + Disk.) – ?* [this '?' means that Dietrich does not know from which source the piece comes] – *Str II 106; Cm 258 (unter „Walther“)*'. From this we can gather that Commer¹⁵⁷ attributes the piece to Walther. Seiffert prints the piece in his edition of Walther's organ chorales, this giving legs to this

mein Stündlein vorhanden ist, that is, that the pieces needed to be used in a setting where these two chorales were sung using the sharpened seventh degree. It is even possible that Pachelbel could have so altered them for this reason, but more likely that someone did it later, perhaps even J. S. Bach himself.

¹⁵⁴ Joelson-Strohbach says '....*obwohl es in Form und Stil von reinster Pachelbelscher Faktur ist....*' ['...although it is from the point of view of form and style of the purest Pachelbel manufacture....'] Joelson-Strohbach 1987, p 119.

¹⁵⁵ Perreault 2004, p 114.

¹⁵⁶ Joelson-Strohbach 1987, p 119.

¹⁵⁷ In *Musica Sacra, Band I: Meister des Orgelbarocks*, Bote und Bock, Berlin, 1838, reprinted in part by Hans von Redlich, 1931, under the same title, but with the contents much revised.

misattribution, besides explaining why the piece does not appear in the DTB Pachelbel volume. Redlich, in his reprinting of Commer's edition, attributes the piece to an unknown author; in his critical report he discounts the possibility of its being by Walther on stylistic grounds, but muddies the waters by suggesting Zachow as well as Pachelbel as possible authors, while also saying that the jury is still out on this one.¹⁵⁸ Given that the appearance of this piece in D-Bhm MS H. 8385 is alongside two unquestionably authentic works (two of the chorale partitas), and that the whole manuscript is entitled '*Werke [...] von Johann Pachelbel*', it seems unlikely that *Herr Jesu Christ, ich weiß gar wohl* is anything other than a genuine organ chorale by Pachelbel, and that Perreault, Dietrich (and Redlich) are making a mountain out of the molehill of Commer's misattribution.

There are two further less likely ascriptions. Perreault questions whether *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der den Tod überwand* (DTB 40) should be ascribed to Armsdorf, citing Matthaei's edition. I cannot find any ascription in Matthaei, though in Perreault's listing of D-B Mus MS 22541 '*J. P. ?Armsdorf*' is quoted. Whether Perreault means by this question mark that Armsdorf is surmise, or whether the mark is indecipherable, I am unable to say. In the *Plauener Orgelbuch* the piece is ascribed to '*J. P.*'. Stylistically speaking the piece is a typical a3 partita-type setting.

Perreault also gives in his listing of D-B Mus MS 22451 '*?Heuschkel*' for *Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt*, (DTB 16). Since this is a *unicum* no concordance is possible. Seiffert sees it as a fragment, a view supported by the unconvincing ending, but otherwise accepts it as one of Walther's transmissions. The piece itself is an unremarkably typical chorale fughetta that may well have been part of a larger setting. About a Heuschkel from this period I have been unable to find out anything whatsoever. I accept the piece as arguably authentic.

5.10 The purposes for which the organ chorales were written

In chapters two and three I attempted to show why I think that the organ chorale was not primarily a solo organ piece, but was developed in the practice of

¹⁵⁸ Critical report, Redlich 1931, p 195.

accompanying vocal performances of the chorales. The time has come to recapitulate some of these ideas with reference to various types of organ chorales that Pachelbel wrote.

Dietrich advocates strongly the view that Pachelbel's combination-type chorales were the residue of the cyclical settings of Scheidt, a set of variations reduced to the rump of the introductory *Choralricercar* and the first variation, now joined together. In this I would agree with him. The introductory fughetta was a time-honoured and effective way of introducing the chorale in central Germany, anyway, enshrined in Weimar 1704; the evidence that the following chorale section with the melody in the cantus was intended as an accompaniment, even if of the choir or a solo voice, is provided by the parallel with the settings in Weimar 1704. There seems no doubt that that compilation was intended to be used as introduction followed by accompaniment, even if the accompaniment was but a skeleton of what would actually have been played extempore. It also seems obvious to me that Pachelbel's accompaniment-type chorales with the melody in the cantus were de-luxe versions of this type of introduction and accompaniment, written down either to show pupils how it was done, or because the singers, cantor or whoever, needed, perhaps on a special occasion, or because there were other instruments involved, to know exactly what was going to happen. Thus a completely extempore performance was out of the question, but the organist could rearrange or amplify the parts (as we saw with the various versions of J. M. Bach's chorales) so long as he did not change the phrase structure or the harmony.

That the combination accompaniment-type chorales with the melody in the bass were written for the same purpose is possible. Seiffert and others have contended that these pieces were display pieces written for Pachelbel's yearly 'examination' at Erfurt. It seems likely that were this so, the composer, being asked to show how he had improved his art in the previous year, would nevertheless have demonstrated something that was relevant to his task of 'accompanying the chorales throughout'. These pieces could certainly have functioned as the final organ-only peroration of the tune, and as a final voluntary; but in these cases the introductory fughetta seems otiose. Indeed, any work from this period with an introductory section could suggest that someone else might be going to join in the main section; why introduce

yourself?

Another puzzling fact is that this type of organ chorale, the type unique to Pachelbel and for which he was most famed, does not appear in his one published chorale collection; this is something that warrants consideration. My view is that it was precisely because such chorales were *not* used as preludes that they did not appear in the collection, the purpose of which was to show how to play a prelude. That one of the most significant dividing lines among the items of Pachelbel's organ chorales is between the partita type and the accompaniment type, to use Dietrich's terms, might be congruent with the idea that the same line divides chorales used as preludes and those used to accompany. Perhaps, intentionally or not, Dietrich was, in using the terms he did, putting his finger on something profound yet perhaps obvious to Pachelbel's contemporaries; the '*alla-breve*' settings were accompaniments, equipped for the most part with their own fugal preludes, whereas the partita settings were preludes of a different sort, designed for different purposes.

The role of Pachelbel's chorale fughetts is again obvious; it was the time-honoured way of introducing the chorale, much as it had been for Scheidt. If indeed these pieces did exist originally as separate entities, then they were presumably followed by an improvised accompaniment (as shown in the Königsberg manuscript with *Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl*, Plate 12, page 158), but could also have functioned as solo organ pieces. That they were thought of as preludes is borne out by the inclusion of an example in *Etlicher Choräle*. The other chorales in that collection could be thought of as examples of successors to the other types of chorale setting found in Scheidt's cyclical works, which, as I hope I have shown, could well have been accompaniments. That Pachelbel's pieces were not primarily accompaniments is demonstrated in the title of the publication; that they might have been accompaniments, however, or even occasionally used as *alternatim* verses, seems to me also a possibility, especially in the light of how similar many of them are to descriptions and examples of chorale accompaniments given by Adlung and Kittel.¹⁵⁹

It must be presumed, however, that the general tendency was for there to be more need for solo organ pieces, that organ chorales gradually became what we today

¹⁵⁹ Williams points out that when Bach wrote *praeludiert* in the Advent I order of service at Leipzig in 1723 he probably meant '*alternatim* interludes or solo preludes'. Williams 1984, p 27.

think of them as being, that is little (and sometimes not so little) tone poems based on the chorale melodies. The chorales in J. S. Bach's great collections might have had their origins in some sort of function in the church service; in their final form they are exercises in the possibilities of this art of elaborating the chorale melodies, or a historical summing up of the (by then moribund?) form.¹⁶⁰ Pachelbel's published pieces, although a survey of the possible types of prelude, are more rooted in the practical here and now. Even so, the tradition of using the chorale as a basis for improvisation that was not connected to the service, but that was designed to show off the organist's abilities, is attested not only by Pachelbel's yearly test, but also by Reinken's remarks on hearing Bach improvise on a chorale in St. Catherine's Church in Hamburg (even though he did say he thought the art was long since dead). I would put Pachelbel's works at the crossroads; he was perhaps the last composer whose organ chorales were conceived for use in the vocal performance of the chorales; by the time he was writing them the north Germans had completed the transformation of the organ chorale into a type of concert piece. In writing these pieces Pachelbel was without successors; the minor composers who worked in the shadow of J. S. Bach (Kauffmann, for example) wrote organ chorales that are usually called preludes, the purpose of which was to introduce the chorale with a pretty instrumental version (often eschewing anything fugal).¹⁶¹ While all Pachelbel's organ chorales could have been utilised in this fashion, and doubtless later were, originally they were written for specific and differing liturgical purposes. Changing fashions rendered the distinctions between these purposes obsolete. When Bach came to write his organ chorales using a variety of forms and styles that surpassed Pachelbel's, this variety is a musical homage to the past, and the exploitation for musical purposes of the possibilities he inherited; it did not arise from liturgical necessity.

¹⁶⁰ Even though it is normally considered that Bach's early works did have a specific liturgical function, this may have been purely decorative (i. e. not involved with the vocal performance of the chorales). Williams points out that to assume that the chorale fuguettes and the *Orgelbüchlein* were written with practical purposes in mind, although 'a reasonable guess', is not borne out by the conditions in which Bach worked. Williams 1984, p 9.

¹⁶¹ As Williams points out, the chorales in Kauffmann's *Harmonische Seelenlust* were intended also for the delectation of the player at home, as indeed were Pachelbel's partitas. Williams 1984, p 26.

5.11 Conclusion

It is hard to view the repertoire that I have been discussing without coming under the shadow of J. S. Bach; I hope that I have not made too much of this. While it can be seen that musical development might have been leading from one 'peak' (e. g. Sweelinck) to another (Bach), there is no inevitability about this at all. Bach's music is as it is not only because of the history leading up to it – the raw materials of his work, so to speak – but also, and perhaps more significantly, because of Bach's own peculiar genius, a genius fundamentally different for instance from that of Handel, his contemporary and countryman. That Pachelbel's music seems to point to Bach's is just the judgement of hindsight; for Pachelbel and his contemporaries these considerations would have been meaningless.

While we might judge the music of Pachelbel to be in some ways more 'advanced' than that of Scheidemann, or even Buxtehude, this is so only because the directions that Pachelbel took were built on by a future generation. There is not some impersonal archetypal paradigm that musical history is working towards, using the composers as its vehicles. The high Baroque style could have been completely different if the 'great' composers had been different people. Had Bach not been born the Bachian style would not have come into being through some 'mute inglorious Bach'; the style of the eighteenth century would have been different. It is with these considerations in mind that I make some remarks about Pachelbel.

Some commentators have been ungenerous towards Pachelbel. Schweitzer says of him; 'he was not a genius; he was not always even clever, and his art is not free from a certain stiffness and formality.'¹⁶² He is no kinder about Pachelbel's organ playing. He compares him unfavourably with Buxtehude, whom he regards as 'the greatest organist between Scheidt and Bach', by saying, citing Spitta; 'what was regarded in the south as a test of the highest virtuosity looks almost like an elementary exercise in comparison with the compositions of the northern organists'. Indeed, as a player Pachelbel was, to judge by his compositions, almost certainly not a genius on the level of Buxtehude or Bach. Nevertheless Schweitzer can also say (writing in 1905); 'If the average level of organ playing in Bach's time was higher than any that has

¹⁶² Schweitzer, 1911, Volume I, p 42.

been attained since, it is entirely owing to Pachelbel.¹⁶³

Schweitzer is no more generous to Pachelbel the composer than he is to Pachelbel the organist. He says; 'With all its excellencies, however, the Pachelbel form of the chorale prelude labours under the grave artistic defect of incoherence. The chorale melody – the bond that should hold together the separate fughettas – cannot really give them intrinsic unity. In the last resort they amount to no more than a string of fragments.'¹⁶⁴

While Schweitzer makes the mistake of calling the form that I have labelled 'pure-Pachelbel type' the Pachelbel type *par excellence*, and therefore seems to ignore all the other types that Pachelbel wrote, he is nevertheless generous enough to conceive that this type is 'almost the grandest' of the various styles of treating chorale melodies evolved in this period. Even so, he is of course correct in seeing the chorale melody as a limiting factor; the unity it gives to an organ chorale does not arise from any musical element in it, but is almost an extra-musical framework on which can be hung a composition whose length and structure are then limited by it. To this extent Schweitzer is right to say that the chorale melodies 'cannot give them [organ chorales] intrinsic unity'. The same can of course be said of J. S. Bach's organ chorales, too. No matter how long an organ chorale might be (and some of Bach's are very long in the number of minutes that elapse while they are played, even if 'short' and 'simple' in structural terms [*O Mensch, beweine dein' Sünde groß*, BWV 622, for example]), a *cantus-firmus* setting is no longer, in real terms, than the chorale on which it is based.

Carter has pointed out that the problem facing Baroque composers of how to extend a purely instrumental composition, how to create a larger structure without the framework of words, was the natural consequence of 'the rise of instrumental music with its own rhetorical power independent of words'.¹⁶⁵ The rewards for achieving this were an emotional depth unachievable in vocal music, since, according to the Platonic model, music that relies on musical fantasy rather than the reason and sense of words 'comes close to the poetic *furor* that allows those who have climbed the ladder of self-awareness and knowledge to enter a supra-rational

¹⁶³ *Ibid*, p 43.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p 43.

¹⁶⁵ Carter, (Carter and Butt 2005), p 23.

state where one can touch upon the Divine.’¹⁶⁶ Perhaps we can conceive of an impersonal imperative, a kind of power of the *Zeitgeist*, which actively urged composers in this direction at this time. We have to concede that Buxtehude and Bach rose to the challenge; Pachelbel did not.

Buxtehude’s achievement was to extend the prelude by using the *stylus phantasticus*, stringing together varied sections whose relation to each other was as much extra-musical and rhetorical as musical. Bach extended the fugue (and the prelude) by more directly musical means; he utilised sequence, modulation and variation to create his vast fugal structures, and imported the Italian ritornello form to extend his preludes. Pachelbel managed none of these solutions. So while his longest toccatas or preludes resemble the multi-sectional works of Buxtehude, the resemblance is superficial; they remain successions of small-scale forms played one after the other; there is neither extra-musical nor musical connection between these sections. Pachelbel’s fugues likewise remain extremely short, chiefly because neither will he modulate to remoter keys as J. S. Bach does, nor does he use sequence and variation to achieve the same end. So whereas Buxtehude’s longest pieces are his preludes, and Bach’s his fugues, Pachelbel’s longest, his ‘grandest...conceptions’, are the slow-moving organ chorales, which are nevertheless still at base small-scale pieces. The extent and breadth of the execution of these pieces disguises how limited and ‘small-scale’ they actually are.¹⁶⁷

What Pachelbel did, however, was to develop the musical language of organ counterpoint to the point at which later composers, particularly Bach, could use it to effect the formal developments that he himself did not achieve. So, the smooth and easy counterpoint, tonal rather than modal, rhythmically varied, with its exact voice leading; the embellishment of the lines using *figure* derived from vocal or string writing; the modern yet sober treatment of dissonance; the subtle introduction of *figure* in sensitive response to the words; the use of affective harmony to underline the sense of the words and to create the appropriate emotional atmosphere; all these things Pachelbel either developed, achieved or broke new ground with. His inheritors

¹⁶⁶ Carter *ibid*, p 186.

¹⁶⁷ The largest-scale instrumental pieces in the Baroque period were variation sets (as well as ground basses, passacaglias, chaconnes), where there is no musical extension or development in later sense of the word, rather interminable repetition; the pieces in Pachelbel’s oeuvre that actually take longest to play are the *ciaccone*.

were Bruhns, Böhm and J. S. Bach. Bach used this inheritance from Pachelbel to fill the Baroque forms with a sublime content without equal in western music.

Bach's influence on succeeding musical history has been immense; perhaps the most significant element in that influence has been counterpoint and part-writing. Even today we learn our part writing from Bach's harmonisations of the chorales, our counterpoint from his fugues. Just here is where Pachelbel's influence on him was most fruitful. But that Pachelbel bequeathed to Bach techniques that he himself was not able to exploit to the full does not detract from his achievements as a composer. And finally, lest we lose sight of Pachelbel's achievements in our considerations of his posthumous influence, it must be said that his organ chorales are the largest body of works of this type to come from the Baroque age before Bach's. No other composer wrote so many, nor so varied a collection of such pieces. And how many more were there of which we now know nothing? Though we may concur with Schweitzer that there were limits to Pachelbel's genius, that there were greater than he, I think it has to be admitted that he was a genius, and that this unique body of work that has been investigated is evidence enough of that.

Part 2

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Appendix 1

The organs in Erfurt and Nürnberg in Pachelbel's time

We know a certain amount about both the organ in the *Predigerkirche* in Erfurt, and those in the *Sebalduskirche* in Nürnberg, as they were in Pachelbel's time. The former was completely replaced in 1898, leaving only Compenius' case (which survives to this day – see Plate 17 on page 293);¹ the larger of the Nürnberg instruments survived until destroyed by bombing in 1945, though by then only the case could be dated from Heinrich Traxdorf's 1444 instrument (in 1945 the oldest surviving organ case in use in Germany). Our knowledge of these organs is therefore only indirect, and does not allow us to learn much about Pachelbel's sound world. Nevertheless, an examination of the specifications of these two organs (and also that of the smaller one in Nürnberg) and an investigation of how Pachelbel's pieces might have been registered on them are worth undertaking.

It would be entirely out of place to attempt to describe here the history of organ building up to Pachelbel's time; nevertheless a certain amount of context for the two larger organs might be helpful. David Yearsley² posits the idea that while organ building seems, seen from the historical point of view, to develop from peak to peak, the perception of contemporaries is more often that the organs of their time represent not only one such peak, but *the* peak, a golden age. He suggests that organ building at the time of Michael Praetorius (d. 1621) was felt by contemporaries to be at such an apogee, and describes the organ in the ducal castle chapel in Gröningen, built in

¹ There is a 'surviving' Compenius instrument in Erfurt, that in St. Michael's Church. This instrument is much smaller than the organ in the *Predigerkirche*, with only 15 stops. Furthermore, when it was rebuilt in 2000, of the 910 pipes in the instrument 883 were new. How like the original it now sounds is difficult to say. Appendix 5, p 409, gives more details about this instrument.

² David Yearsley, *An Ideal Organ and its Experts* in Kerala J. Snyder, *The Organ as a Mirror of its Time*, Oxford, 2002, pp 93- 112.

1596 by David Beck of Halberstadt, seen in its time as an ideal. He takes this as an example because at its inauguration it was tried out by an assembly of the most notable organists of the day, including Michael Praetorius.

The Organ in Gröningen Castle Church, David Beck, 1592-96

[This specification is that found in Werkmeister’s *Organum Grundigense redivivum*, 1705³ – that is, the state in which it was when he was about to rebuild it. The specification given by Praetorius in *Symtagma musicum* differs quite considerably.⁴]

Oberwerk	Rück-positiv	Pedal
Quintathön 16 Principal 8 Rohrflöt oder Gedackt 8 Groß-Qüer-Flöt 8 Gems-Horn 8 Octava 4 Kleine Querflöte 4 Nacht-Horn 4 Quinta 3 Hohlflöth 2 Mixtur VI-VIII Cymbel II	Quintathön 8 Principal 4 Gedackt oder Rohrflöt 4 Gems Horn 4 Octava 2 Spitzflöt 2 Quinta 1½ Sifflöt 1 Mixtur IV Zimbel III Sordunen 16 Trompet 8 Krum-Horn 8 Singend Regal 4	Quintathön 16 Principal-Bass 16 Sub-Bass 16 Groß-Gemß-Horn 16 Octav-Bass 8 Klein-Gemßhorn 8 Super Octav 4 Klein Quintathön 8 Grosse Quer-flöt 8 Klein-Gemßhorn 8 Super Octav 4 Gedackt 4 Hohlflöt-Baß 4 Nachthorn 4 Quint-Bass 3 Gedackt Quint 3 Hohl-Quint 3 Gedackt Quint 1½ Bauerflöt 1 Posaunen-Bass 16 Sordunen-Baß 16 Trompeten Baß 8 Krumhorn 8 Rancket 8 Schallmeyen-Baß 4 Klein Regal-Baß 2
Klein Brust zum Ober-Manual-Clavier		
Klein Gedact 2 Super Octav 1 Zimbel II Mixtur III Repertirend Zimbel-Regal 8 Groß Regal 8 Rancket 8		

³ Snyder 2002, p 97.
⁴ Hans Klotz, *Über die Orgelkunst der Gotik, der Renaissance und des Barock*, Kassel, 1986, p 58.
 Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musica II, De Organographia*, Wolfenbüttel, 1619 (modern facsimile, Kassel, 1958), p 188.

The significant characteristics of this organ were:

- The construction of the organ is according to the *Werkprinzip*, with each department based on a different-pitched Principal (*Pedal 16'*, *Oberwerk 8'*, *Rück-Positiv 4'*, *Klein Brust 1'*).
- Complete wide-scale (Flute) and narrow-scale (Principal/Diapason) flue choruses in all departments, except in the *Klein Brust*, which had only a vestigial flue chorus. Nevertheless, the tendency was to incorporate the 2-foot-pitched stops in the narrow-scaled choruses into the mixtures – there is only one 2-foot ‘Principal’ (the *Octava 2'*) on the organ, on the *Rück-Positiv*.
- A large array of reeds on the *Rück-Positiv*, a smaller array on the *Klein Brust*, a comprehensive array of reeds in the pedals, especially solo stops up to 2-foot pitch, but no reeds on the *Oberwerk*. This luxurious provision combines the French/Dutch tradition of having *cantus-firmus* stops on the Pedals and in the *Brust* (which, historically seen, is a Regal added to a large organ⁵) with the French idea of the *Rück Positiv* as a combination of alternative choruses to those on the main manual and solo reed stops. Thus having *Brust*, *Rück Positiv*, and high-pitch solo reeds in the Pedals is a kind of triple provision.
- A generous supply of mixtures in all departments. The mixtures are divided into wide- and narrow-scaled stops, the ‘*Zimbel*’ (*Rauschende Zimbel*, *Klingende Zimbel*) type of mixture belonging to the wide-scale chorus, the others to the narrow. *Zimbel* mixtures contain tierce ranks.⁶ There is no *Sesquialtera* anywhere, nor the necessary pitches to synthesise one.
- The enormous size of the Pedal organ in comparison with the other departments, a feature that amazes us even today. The enormous extent of the department follows from the need for it to perform two tasks: the large-scale 16-foot pedal stops,⁷ both flues and reeds, were for playing a reinforced bass line, a tradition then unique to Germany (but perhaps originating in the

⁵ Klotz 1986, p 63.

⁶ Fock (Gustav Fock, *Hamburg's Role in Northern European Organ Building*, p 15) discusses all this, including the introduction of tierce ranks, erroneously attributed to Jacob Scherer, but in fact, appearing in organs from the middle of the 16th century onwards.

⁷ Klotz points out that the pedal flue choruses maintained their original wide-scale character, since this meant that they blended less well with the higher pitched narrow-scale stops, allowing the bass played by the pedals to stand out from the texture. Klotz *ibid*.

southern Netherlands); playing a *cantus-firmus* at a higher pitch, the other task of the Pedals, was a tradition deriving from France and the northern Netherlands. There is no 32-foot stop on the organ; possibly there was not room for one in the building. There are no pedal couplers, unnecessary because of the extent of the provision in the Pedals, nor any manual ones, though the stops of the *Oberwerk* and the *Klein Brust* could have been sounded together, since they were played from the same manual.

The complete choruses on this organ were suitable for playing contrapuntal music, while the elaborate provision of solo stops, especially in the Pedals, was intended for playing *cantus firmi* in organ chorales, a type of piece just then coming into its own. The organ could have been considered ideal because it was thus suited to just those types of pieces likely to have been performed on it. But if the large number of stops should lead to the idea that it would have produced a large sound such as we are used to from Schnitger's instruments, it must be remembered that at this time the organ, even such a large one as this, would have made a relatively delicate sound. Williams notes that Werkmeister complained of this organ that 'not many stops could be used at once because of the narrowness of the pallets and channels'.⁸ The glory of this organ more probably resided in the variety of colours available than in the ensemble.

Beck's organ might have been seen as an ideal in its time, but it stands at the beginning of a period of organ development that was to lead to the glories of the Schnitger instruments. It was subsequent developments in organ building during the 17th century that were to determine how Pachelbel's organs sounded. During this period the following organ builders, among others, were prominent;

Table A 1.1 Organ builders active in the seventeenth century in central Germany, showing some of their important instruments.

Heinrich Compenius the Elder (died 1611)	<i>Predigerkirche</i> , Erfurt, 1579
Esias Compenius (died 1617)	Wooden organ at Hillerod Castle, 1612; Bückberg, 1615
Heinrich Compenius the Younger (died 1631)	Magdeburg Cathedral, 1604

⁸ Williams, *The European Organ, 1450-1850*, London 1966, p 136.

Johann Heinrich Compenius (died 1642)	St. Moritz Church, Halle, 1624
David Beck	Gröningen Castle Chapel, 1596
Hans Scherer the Elder (active 1571-1611)	St. Mary's Church, Bernau, 1572; St. James' Church, Hamburg, 1588/1606; St. Peter's Church, Hamburg, 1604; St. Martin's Church, Kassel, 1610, and two further churches in Kassel; St. Gertrude's Chapel Hamburg, 1605
Ludwig Compenius (1603-1671)	<i>Predigerkirche</i> , Erfurt, 1650; St. Michael's University Church, Erfurt, 1652
Hans Scherer the Younger (active 1611-31)	St. Stephen's Church, Tangermünde, 1624; St. Giles' Church Lübeck, 1624; St. Martin's Church, Castle Church, and Brothers' Church, Kassel, 1607-12
Gottfried Fritsche (active 1629-38)	Castle Church in Dresden, 1614; Castle Church in Sonderhausen; St. Martin's Church, Brunswick, 1630;
Friedrich Stellwagen (active 1629-59)	St. Mary's Church, Stralsund, 1653-9; St. Mary's Church, Lübeck, [both organs, 1637, 1650, 1655]; St. James' Church, Lübeck, 1643
Eugen Casparini	SS. Peter and Paul, Görlitz, 1704
Georg Leyser	<i>Sebalduskirche</i> , Nürnberg, 1691

The above list makes no claim to any kind of comprehensiveness, but seeks to put in place the pedigree of the two organs particularly associated with Pachelbel. The examples of specific organs given were not necessarily completely the work of the builders mentioned, it being rare to build from scratch. Even so, the ways of going about things then were so invasive (as we would say today) that any organ worked on by the builders in the list would have assumed the character of that builder's work to a very considerable degree.

The first striking thing to note is that this period, what might be thought of as the early Baroque, is represented by a style of organ building that was 'superseded' by the work of Schnitger. Many of the organs in the list above were rebuilt by him and assumed the character of the north-German organs of the High Baroque. The majority of those organs that were not rebuilt by Schnitger, or in his time, either fell

victim to later developments that rendered them completely remote from their early-Baroque characters, or were simply made away with. The instruments in Tangermünde and Stralsund, and that in St. James', Lübeck, are the only real survivors from this time, giving us an idea of how an organ sounded in the earlier seventeenth century, a markedly different sound from Schnitger's work. These three instruments are, however, examples of the north-German style. There are no significant survivors from this period from south-central Germany, so we have no real idea of how the organs that Pachelbel played sounded. It must be noted, however, that many of the 'north-German' builders worked in central Germany, so it could be that the sounds were perhaps more similar between the two areas of Germany than might be imagined. 'North-German' builders might indeed have brought their ideas with them to the south, or builders from the south might have been influenced by northern ideas, as for instance, Heinrich Compenius was by Scheidt's views when he built the organ in St. Moritz, Halle. On the other hand northern builders might well have conformed to southern ideas while building in the south.⁹ So Jacob Scherer's organ in Klosterneuberg (in Austria), enlarged in 1636, provides even then a Pedal organ with only Principal and reed choruses (except for an 8-foot *Choralflöte*),¹⁰ not markedly different from the Pedals of the organ in Weingarten built a century earlier.¹¹ Nevertheless, even if the sound of, say, the Principals, was the same, the specifications do show certain specific differences; the choice of stops available was different on organs from different areas.

This brings us to the second difference. Whether it is because the north-Germans were better builders, or whether the developments in musical history in the north, and the demands of these developments on the organ, led to a richer organ-building tradition, or whether the vagaries of history are to blame, the array of instruments, both historically attested, and actually surviving, is much richer there than in the south. The rich northern tradition, culminating in Schnitger's work, has no parallel in the south-central regions until the work of Gottfried Silbermann; even though certain individual instruments (for instance those of Hildebrandt) are certainly the equal of

⁹ Pietzsche explains that the area of activity of organ builders was determined by the fact that they were 'retained' by the diocesan authorities. Pietzsch 1958, pp 162 foll..

¹⁰ Williams 1966, p 68.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p 65.

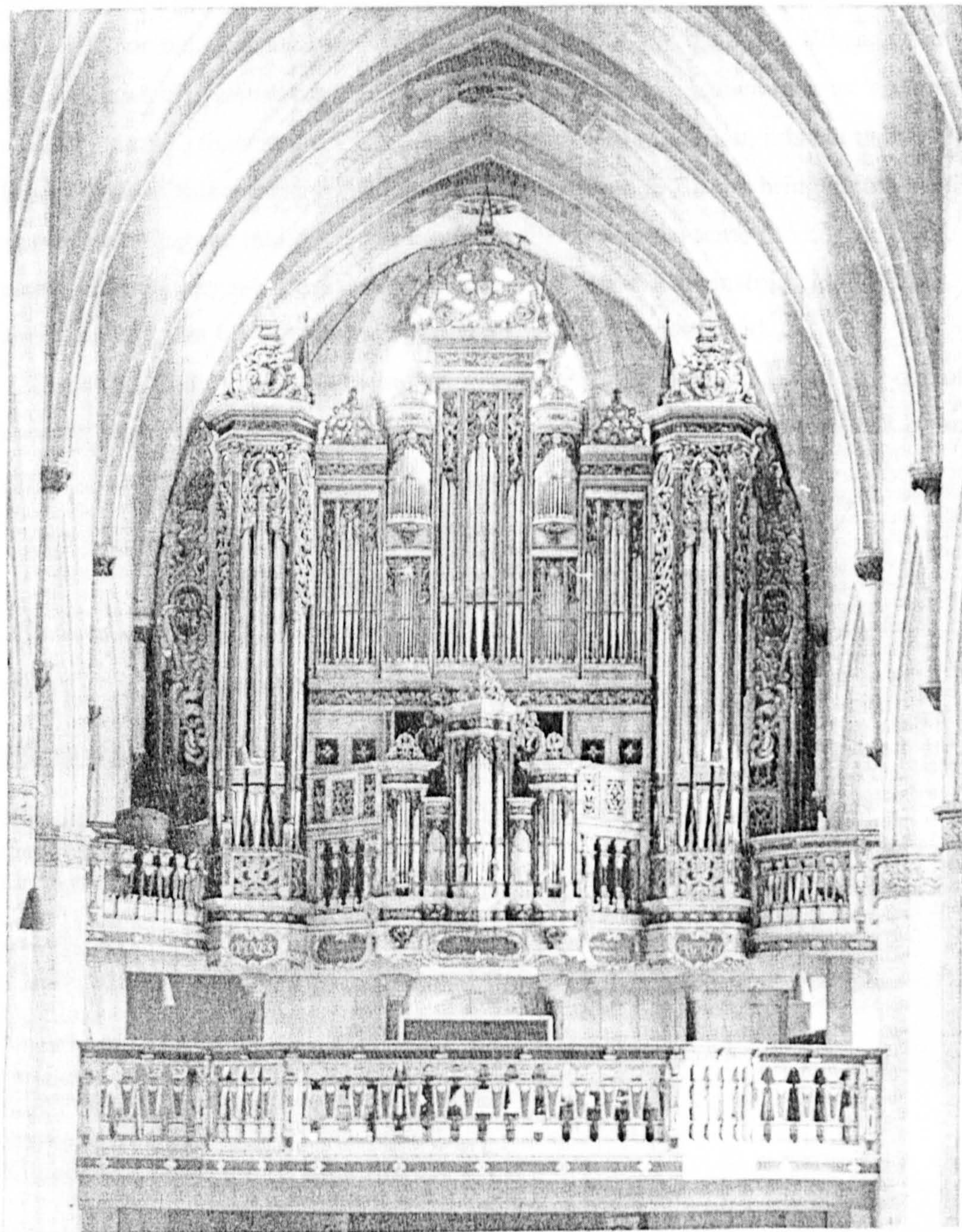


Plate 17 The organ in the *Predigerkirche* in Erfurt as it is today; the case is as Compenius left it, the pipe work has been replaced completely.

Schnitger's, there is not the body of work of this quality in the south. The two instruments to which we are paying particular attention are nowhere near as significant as the large number of magnificent specimens in the north. Whereas the magnificence of David Beck's conception, which Yearsley characterises as 'an Ideal of Germanness', finds its fulfilment in the north-German tradition, it is not until Hildebrandt or Silbermann (perhaps under the influence of Bach's bringing the ideals of the north-German tradition into central Germany) that the same can be said of the central-German organs. Compared with those in the north, the instruments in Erfurt and Nürnberg that we are examining seem somewhat impoverished.

The organ built by Ludwig Compenius for the *Predigerkirche* in Erfurt was one of the later examples to spring from his family, and replaced completely one built by an earlier member of the dynasty. Here is the specification:

The organ in the *Predigerkirche* in Erfurt

Built by Ludwig Compenius new in 1650

Oberwerk (C-e³)

Principal 8 (wide-scale and sweet-sounding, completely of polished tin)
 Gedackter Untersatz 16 (on the manual)
 Gedackter Untersatz (on the pedals by itself, derived from the previous)
 (Groß) Gembshorn or Viol di Gamba 8 (made of metal)
 (Groß) Gembshorn Baß (on the pedals derived from the previous)
 (Grob gedackte) Rohrflöte 8
 Quinta 6
 Nachthorn 4
 Octava 4 (made from tin)
 Super Octava 2
 Starke Mixtur 4
 Klingende Cymbel drei Pfeifen stark (tierce cimbel)

Pedals (C-d¹)

(on both sides of the large towers)

Principal Baß 16 (made of tin, pedals)
 Contra Posaune Untersatz 16 (for the Pleno)
 Fagott Baß 16 (for quiet music [continuo?])
 Singender Cornett Bass 2

Vogelgesang (with a stop knob)

Trummel (with a stop knob)

Tremulant and Ventil working on both Pedal and Oberwerk, each with a stop knob

Rückpositiv (C-e³)

Principal 4 (blending with the Oberwerk, with the same scaling, of polished tin)

Stiller Grob 8 (stopped, for use as an echo, or as the second of two parts, or beautifully by itself, of polished tin)

Quintadena 8

Liebliche Spielpfeife 4

Gedoppelte Sesquialtera 3

Scharfe Quintsatz III (for playing chorales, 3 ranks, narrow scaling)

Flachflöte (Waldflöte) 2

Octava 2

Trompete 8 (long resonators, Dutch scaling)

Schallmei 4 (moderate scaling)

Cymbelstern (3 rotating stars with 24 bells with two settings, one for one star, the other for all three)

Tremulant (that does not work on the Oberwerk)

Ventil with a stop knob

Rückpositiv to Pedals (A stop knob that will allow all the stops on the Rückpositiv to be playable on the pedal by themselves)

Such was what Compenius intended to provide. Adlung, writing in 1768, notes one or two extras, added, he thinks, in the interim. They are:

Pedals, Trompet 8, Octave 8, Quinte 6, Höhlflöte 4.

Oberwerk, Glockenspiel. Manalkoppel, Pedalkoppel (these unspecified).

Glocken, (one more) Tremulant.

Adlung complains that the organ is old, is still as left by Compenius apart from the few additions, and is lacking an adequate wind supply.

[This specification and its accompanying descriptions of some of the stops is taken from the contract to build the instrument; printed in the introduction to the modern edition of Kittel's *Der angehende Organist*.]

A comparison of this organ with that of Beck reveals both similarities and differences.

- The organ is still constructed according to the *Werkprinzip*.
- Both wide-scale and narrow-scale choruses are available in the manual departments, though not as luxuriously as at Grönigen. Tierce ranks are

more in evidence, and there is a *Sesquialtera* (for playing chorale melodies) in the *Rückpositiv*.

- There is a new kind of stop represented by the *Viol de Gamba*. This type of stop ('string') was of exceptionally narrow scale, and while it could function in the narrow-scale chorus, became increasingly to be seen as a solo colour stop.
- The Pedal organ is much smaller than Beck's, and much smaller in comparison with the other departments in this organ. There are no choruses, just a large and a small 16-foot reed, a large 16-foot flue, and one solo stop of 2-foot pitch. But some of the quieter *Oberwerk* stops were available on the Pedals, and the *Rückpositiv* stops, especially the solo reeds, could also be played on the Pedals by means of a coupler. Thus, with much smaller resources, the two functions of the Pedals were manageable.
- There are far fewer solo reeds; the *Rückpositiv* is the only department to have them, and the other department where they were placed in Gröningen, the *Brustwerk*, is here completely missing.

The limitations of this organ compared with that at Grönigen are not totally to do with its smaller size. As far as its suitability for playing the music required of it, the inadequacy of the pedals, and the relative impoverishment of the palette of solo reed sounds, suggests that the style of playing that called forth Beck's instrument was not current in Saxony at this time. The possibilities for registration that Scheidemann exploited, particularly the '*a 2 Clav. e Ped.*' layout used for many of his organ chorales and fantasies, were simply ignored in the south-central region. Thus although Samuel Scheidt, in the preface to his *Tabulatura Nova III*, explains in great detail how his compositions may be played in this northern style, it is not necessary to do this (as he himself emphasises); the layout of the pieces means that all the salient features are obvious to the listener even when the pieces are played plainly. This is not the case with Scheidemann's pieces; if they cannot be played '*a 2 Clav. e Ped.*' they cannot be played at all.

Samuel Scheidt, despite his origins and his later employment in central Germany (Halle), was a pupil of Sweelinck, whose (Sweelinck's) imaginative ideas as to how to present a chorale *cantus firmus* were a most significant stimulus both to him and to Scheidemann (also a pupil of Sweelinck). Thus Scheidt would have imbibed the same milk, as it were, as Scheidemann, but with different results. In soloing out the *cantus firmus* on a Dutch organ the pedals played an important role. Scheidt remained true to the earlier way, while Scheidemann emphasised a different method, the '*a 2 Clav. e Ped.*'; thus for Scheidt it was important that the Pedals were well furnished with solo stops. Now while this provision can be seen in Beck's instrument, this must be counted due to influence from Holland, operative in Germany certainly from the middle of the 16th century; this influence did not reach the south at that time.¹²

This influence, this requirement for a large and versatile pedal department, can be seen to a greater extent than might have been expected in the organ in St. Moritz' Church in Halle, built in 1624 under Scheidt's direction. In a relatively small instrument, built much in the style of the southern builders, what is exceptional is the provision of two high-pitched flues in the Pedals, *Kornett 2'*, and *Spitzflöte 1'*. This explains the layout of many of Scheidt's organ chorales, where it is easy to play the *cantus firmus* in the Pedals, the three other parts on one manual, whereas to try and play the *cantus firmus* in the right or left hand, and divide the other parts between hand and feet, '*a 2 Clav. e Ped.*', is difficult, (though not impossible – Scheidt is true to his instructions, and all the appropriate movements are playable in this way). Nevertheless, it is instructive that Williams can write, apropos Scheidt's recommendations for registration in *Tabulatura Nova III*, that 'the remarks should be studied with the specifications of Fritsche and Compenius, and even with Scherer's organs in Hamburg' in mind. It seems likely that had Scheidt not specifically requested the high-pitched stops in the Pedals, Heinrich Compenius would not have

¹² Klotz 1986, p 72, Fock 1939, p 17. The influence of the Dutch builders that led to large and versatile pedal organs was patchy. Jaspar Johannsen's organ in St. John's Church in Lüneberg, as early as 1549, has *Nachthorn 2* and *Bauernflöte 1* in the Pedals; whereas the same builder's instrument at St. Peter's Church, Hamburg, (1548), has no high-pitched solo stops whatsoever in a relatively large Pedal organ; while Henning Henke's organ in St. Gotthard's Church, Hildesheim, built much later (in 1612-17) has nothing more on the Pedals than *Gedackt 16*.

included them.¹³

We have seen how this emphasis on the capability of playing solo *cantus firmus* lines in the Pedals was only partly fulfilled by Ludwig Compenius' instrument at Erfurt in 1650. Since the solo reed stops 'available' in the Pedals there are available only by coupling them from the *Rückpositiv*, a true trio performance of a chorale with the *cantus firmus* in the pedals is not possible. A performance of Sweelinck's or Scheidemann's *Erbarm dich mein, O Herre Gott*, would have been more problematic than on a north-German instrument.¹⁴ The general feeling is that registration had become a less colourful affair in the south-central region than in the north.

¹³ **The specification of Scheidt's organ in St. Moritz' Church, Halle**
(built in 1624 under Samuel Scheidt's direction)

Hauptwerk		
Quintadena 16	Gedakt 8	Trompete 8
Prinzipal 8	Gedakt 4	
Oktave 4	Nasat 2 2/3	
Octav 2		
Mixtur 3fach		
Rückpositiv		
Quintadena 8	Gedackt 8	Krummhorn 8
Oktave 4	Gedackt 4	Schalmei 4
Oktave 2	Gemshorn 2	
Mixtur 3Fach	Sifflöte 1 1/3	
	Spitzflöte 1	
Pedal		
Subbaß stark, offen 16		Posaune 16
Oktave 8		Kornett 2
Oktave 4		Spitzflöte 1

[Specification from Klotz 1934, pp 57-58]

We see here, in a small disposition, the general principles adhered to: *Werkprinzip* (Pedal 16, *Hauptwerk* 8, *Rückpositiv* 4); well-represented wide- and narrow-scale choruses on both manuals, but no wide-scale mixtures, the narrow-scale mixtures not divided, and only a Principal chorus in the Pedals; solo reeds in the *Rückpositiv*; a chorus reed on the *Hauptwerk*; but strikingly the 2-foot and 1-foot solo flues in the Pedals, despite no 8-foot solo reed, nor any quiet 8- or 16-foot sound to function as a bass line in an '*a 2 Clav. e Ped.*' registration.

¹⁴ The solo line in variations 3 and 4 of Sweelinck's *Erbarm dich mein, O Herre Gott*, demands a different tone colour from that in the surrounding variations. The layout of the organ at Erfurt would have presented difficulties in effecting this, since the possibilities for a solo timbre would have been limited. For the first two variations the 'Zink' registration (involving a *Tromette*, *Nasat*, 4-foot flute and 2-foot *Gemshorn*) or a close approximation to it, (but without the actual *Zink* stop, since there wasn't one) could have been played on the *Rückpositiv*, but this would mean that the basis of this sound would have been the same as that of the following two variations, where the pedal line would have had to have been played using the *Trompete*, which would also have formed the basis for the solo sound in the last two variations. Further, this *Zink* sound apparently (according to Weckmann) balanced *Hauptwerk Principal* and *Octave* (this described as a 'soft middle part'!) and the *Posaune* (and 32-foot flue) in the Pedals. Whether, even though it was billed as having 'long resonators and

While Scheidt could evade the problems of playing '*a 2 Clav. e Ped.*' by using his solo Pedal stops, this was not a possibility for Pachelbel at Erfurt. So one of his chorales that has the *cantus firmus* in the Pedals (e. g. *Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam*, DTB 14) could have been played at Erfurt using the *Trompette 8* on the *Rückpositiv* coupled to the Pedals with the other two parts on the *Oberwerk*, while if the *cantus firmus* were in the tenor (*Nun lob mein' Seel' den Herren*, DTB 52) the *Schallmei 4* could have been used. Those large-scale accompaniment-type chorales with the melody in the bass would have been served by the Pedal '*Contra Posaune Untersatz zur vollen Musik 16 Fuß Thon*', while quieter pieces with the melody in the Pedal could have used the '*Fagott Baß, zur stillen Musik*', as a solo stop to play the melody. This stop could also have played the bass line in '*a 2 Clav. e Ped.*', or been used for continuo work.

There is provision on the Erfurt organ for playing *bicinia*; the solo reeds on the *Rückpositiv* could have been used separately or together to play the *cantus firmus*, accompanied by the quieter 8-foot stops on the *Hauptwerk*, while 'solo' combinations using the unison and mutation stops could have been balanced on either manual. There was no *Trompete* on the *Hauptwerk*, the purpose of which would have been either to play flamboyant solos or to fill out the flue chorus. There are, however, no pieces in Pachelbel's output (equivalent, for instance, to Buxtehude's *Ein' feste Burg*, BuxWV 184) that cry out for such a solo line.

The *Pedal Singender Cornett Baß 2* at Erfurt was intended for playing the chorale melody *in rilievo*. It might well have been utilised by Pachelbel to play the *cantus firmus* of his combination-type chorales with the melody in the cantus, for it was the

Dutch scaling, the *Trompete* at Erfurt would have been loud enough to balance this accompaniment there is an interesting consideration. The first section of Scheidemann's piece on the same chorale does not seem to invite performance on two manuals with the pedals playing the *cantus firmus*; despite some part crossings and what seems to be careful arrangement of the three accompanying parts there are two places where the span in the right hand would be too great to play the bass line on a different manual. But the pedal solo would have had to be based on the same stop as the following '*a 2 Clav. e Ped.*' setting. Again, in Scheidemann's *Mensch, willst du leben seliglich*, the pattern of a tenor pedal solo followed by a bass pedal solo that Sweelinck uses in *Ebarm dich mein* is followed, but the feeling is that the following two variations, where the decorated *cantus firmus*, apportioned between cantus and bass, would have needed a different tone colour. The problem at Erfurt was that there was not a large enough palette of solo reed stops, and that when those that were usable on the pedals were so used, the *Rückpositiv* was not available for other purposes. This would seem to suggest that the type of highly-coloured performance that Sweelinck's and Scheidemann's works demanded was not envisaged at Erfurt; this sort of music was not played there, and the pieces that were did not demand such registration. See Dirksen 1997, pp 627-633, for a discussion of the '*Zink*' registration.

only high-pitched colour stop in the Pedals that could have been used for this purpose, since because of the Pedal compass (up to d^1 only) the 4-foot *Schallmei* could not have been so used. As has been remarked before, though here needs to be emphasised, Pachelbel does not write those chorale melodies in the tenor register (except for that in *Nun lob mein' Seel' den Herren*) that would have suited the *Schallmei* admirably. But in the same way that Scheidt's music does not require the melody to be 'brought out', Pachelbel's pieces function perfectly well played plainly. The accompaniment-type chorales could indeed have been played using a *pleno* with or without pedals, or with the melody in the pedals at 2-foot pitch, or even '*a 2 Clav. e Ped.*'; but there are very large stretches in the left hand in most chorales if this last is done, and the sense and layout of the music does not demand it in the way it does with the music of the north Germans. Indicative too, I think, is the fact that all the chorales are easily manageable on one manual without pedals; had Pachelbel intended the melody to be played in the pedals, or even the bass line to be played in the pedals, the other three voices on one manual, there would surely have been awkward stretches when neither of these things was done. It seems likely that a sober sound, a blending yet clear and simple Principal- or Flute-chorus sound, was what Pachelbel would have used to play his pieces.

This organ at Erfurt was very much in the style of its period; Adlung said of it 'up to now, it has too little wind'. This was a certainly criticism of it, perhaps the reason behind the complaints of Johann Bach¹⁵ that 'the pipe walls were too thin, the 8-foot and 16-foot stops spoke poorly, Gedackt and Principalbass were hardly perceptible when the full organ was played'.¹⁶ Nevertheless, we should perhaps see this also as a criticism, as Belotti suggests, that comes from a change of taste, a change of taste that certainly by Adlung's time, and even perhaps by Johann Bach's, was calling for the brilliant style of Schnitger's organs. Belotti remarks that possibly Pachelbel and Buxtehude (and therefore also Schnitger) met when the large organ in St. John's Church in Magdeburg was inaugurated in 1695, the inference from this being that Pachelbel would have been familiar with the Schnitger sound.¹⁷ We can imagine that

¹⁵ Johann Bach (1604-1673) was the organist when the later Compenius instrument was built.

¹⁶ Belotti *ibid.*, p xx.

¹⁷ Belotti cites this opinion as that of Bernhardt Edskes; Belotti, *ibid.*

the sound of the Erfurt organ resembled that of Beck's instrument at Grönigen and Scherer's at Tangermünde, rather than Schnitger's at Magdeburg.

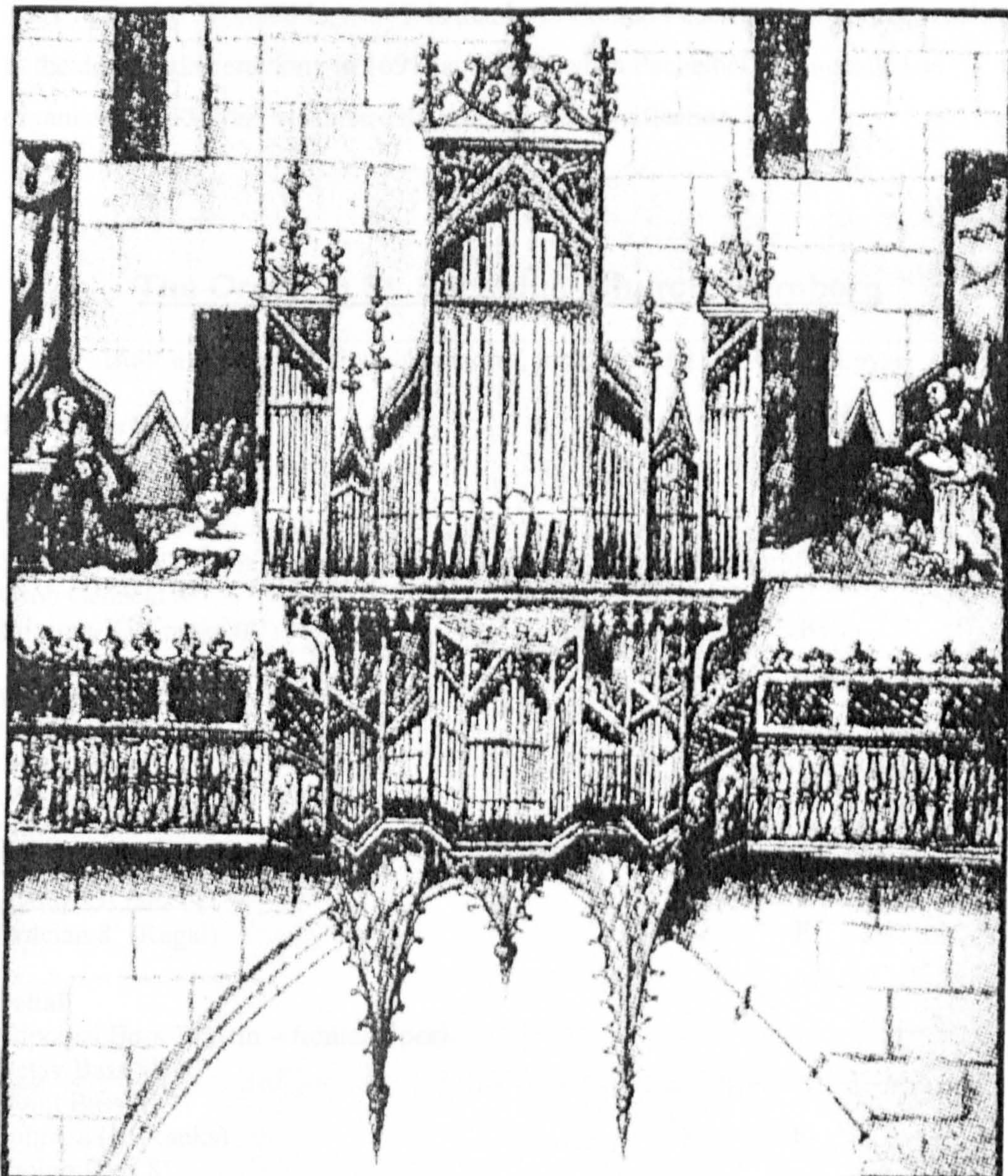


Plate 18 A sketch of the second Gothic organ in St. Lorenz' Church, Nürnberg. The organ dates from 1498, and gives perhaps an idea of what the large organ in St. Sebaldus' Church may have looked like. The sketch dates from the seventeenth century, and appeared in a publication by Theophilus Staden, son of Johann Staden. (Stadtsbibliothek, Nürnberg)

If we turn to the large instrument in St. Sebaldus' Church in Nürnberg, this impression of lack of colour, of limited possibilities for registration, is reinforced.

This instrument originates from 1444, when it was built by “ ‘the famous Traxdorf’, whose instruments in Nürnberg were a model for all builders”.¹⁸ It was rebuilt in 1691 by Georg Sigmund Leyser. It is thanks to Conrad Feuerlein’s sermon, preached at the dedication ceremony in 1691 (and again when Pachelbel was installed as organist in 1695), that we have details about the specification.

The Organ in St. Sebaldus’ Church, Nürnberg

Built in 1444 by Heinrich Traxdorf, rebuilt in 1691 by Georg Leyser	
Hauptwerk	
Principal 8’	F
Octava 4’	F
Quinta Cymbel II ranks (3’ + 2’)	F
Super Octava 2’ with Decima 1½’ (referred to by Leyser as Scharpfenet)	F
Grob Gedackt 8’	F
Mixtura XVI ranks (4’)	F
Rückpositiv	
Principal 4’	F
Grob Gedackt 8’	F
Quinta cum Octava 3’ with 2’	F
Super cum Octava 2’ with 1’	
Quintadehna 8’	F
Cymbel II ranks (1’)	F
Dulcian 8’ (Regal)	F
Pedal	
Principal Bass 16’ (tin – frontal pipes)	
Octav Bass 8’	
Quint Bass 3’	
Subpass (III Ranks)	F
Violon Bass 8’	
(A Hauptwerk-to-Pedal coupler also probably existed)	
Specification from Preface to Traugott Fedtke’s edition of the Weimar 1704 chorales, Peters 8125a. ‘F’ means the stop was referred to by Feuerlein in his sermon. ¹⁹	

¹⁸ Williams 1966, p 59.
¹⁹ Feuerlein 1696. Feuerlein’s sermon is a polemic in favour of the use of the organ in worship, and he ends it with a list of the stops on the organ in St. Sebaldus’, giving a theological meaning to each; the *Subpass*, for instance, is the fundament or basis of faith, the Gospel, without which the whole structure cannot stand, while the *Regal* is a reed (*Schnarrwerk*) that rasps or grates (*schnarren*) like

While it is impossible to know exactly what Leyser added,²⁰ we can guess that the original organ had full Principal choruses in all departments. There are still traces of the old *Blockwerk*, in that all the higher-pitched members of the manual choruses are in composite stops. While it might seem unusual that the organ had a *Rückpositiv* in 1444, since, as Pietzsche points out,²¹ Dutch influence, and through it the idea of the *Rückpositiv*, was not current in Germany until the later sixteenth century, we know that Traxdorf built an organ in Salzburg in 1444 that had a *Rückpositiv*, so there seems no reason not to suppose that the Nürnberg organ also had one.²² Klotz thinks that the idea of the *Rückpositiv* came originally from southern Germany, was translated to France, and reached northern Germany through the Netherlands.²³ We know, from Feuerlein's sermon, that Leyser added the *Scharpfenet* new in 1691. Maybe the *Grob Gedackt* 8' on the *Hauptwerk* was added later than 1444, and perhaps the *Violon Bass* 8' in the Pedals was added by Leyser. Feuerlein also expatiates in his sermon on the sweetness of the *Quinta-dehna* on the *Rückpositiv*; possibly this was new, or much altered, in 1691. The *Hauptwerk Grob Gedackt* is made necessary by the presence of the *Dulcian* 8', the only reed on the organ, of which Feuerlein makes much, explaining (and punning) on the idea of its being a reed; perhaps it too was new in 1691. The Pedal *Violon Bass* 8' would have provided a quiet accompaniment bass line for continuo work, and for the *Dulcian* when used 'a 2 Clav. e Ped.'. The exiguousness of the provision generally, however, is stark; there are no flute choruses, only the one reed, and no high-pitched unison pedal stops at all. The one 'luxury' is the *Subpass*, perhaps an acoustic 32-foot stop of some kind, this perhaps added also by Leyser. Quite how it would have sounded we cannot know.

the conscience of the Christian when it is awakened by God. In the event Feuerlein's list of stops is incomplete; whether we are to infer from this that the stops he mentions are the only ones that he can make use of for didactic purposes, or whether it was these stops that were added or renovated at this time, we cannot know.

²⁰ It is clear from Feuerlein's sermon that the *Scharpfenet* was new in 1691.

²¹ Pietzsch 1958, p 166. Fock can say, apropos Niehoff's addition of a *Rückpositiv* to the organ in St. Peter's Church in Hamburg in 1548 (a century after Traxdorf built the organ in Nürnberg): 'As something quite new, Niehoff introduced a *Rückpositiv*.' Fock 1997, p 15.

²² Pietzsch 1959, p 30.

²³ Klotz 1986, pp 61-63.

While it is perhaps anachronistic to judge performances of Pachelbel's works from this organ, in that (probably) all his organ chorales were written before he went to Nürnberg, it is nevertheless interesting to explore the limitations that the organ would have placed on performing these works.

There was no possibility of playing on the pedals a *cantus firmus* that was in the cantus, as Scheidt might have done, since the only possible appropriately-pitched stop that was not a mutation was the *Super Octava 2' with 1'* on the *Rückpositiv*, which could not have been coupled to the Pedals. No four-foot stop when coupled would have gone high enough to play most of the melodies.²⁴ *Nun lob, mein' Seel', den Herren* (DTB 52) could have been performed using only the *Hauptwerk Octava*. The *Rückpositiv Dulcian* could have been used for *bicinia*, and for any 'a 2 Clav. e Ped.' performances, with the *Violon Bass* in the pedals. A solo line (e. g. that in *Wir glauben all an' einen Gott*, DTB 66) would have sounded well with *Principal 8* and *Quinta Cymbel II* on the *Hauptwerk*, or *Quintadehna* and *Quinta* on the *Rückpositiv*. Unless the *Scharpfenet* was in fact $2\frac{2}{3}$ and $1\frac{3}{5}$, rather than the $2 + 1\frac{1}{2}$ (is this $1\frac{1}{2}$ a $1\frac{3}{5}$ or a $1\frac{1}{3}$?) as stated in the specification, there was no possibility of a *Sesquialtera*; though the pitches were present, they could only be draw together with a 2-foot sound.²⁵ A solo line in the Pedals would have needed the *Pedal Violon Bass 8'* (if it were loud enough), or else the *Pedal Octave Bass 8'*; the *Dulcian 8'*, the only reed on the organ, could not have been coupled to the Pedals. A solo Pedal line in *organo pleno* would have lacked a reed, but perhaps the *Subpass* was impressive enough to make up for this. Completely missing from the organ are quiet four-foot stops, which means that any solo line or texture would have been played either on an eight-foot sound, or sharp with mutations sounds, or loud with the four-foot Principals of either manual. One has the impression that the general sound of the organ was somewhat Gothic, lacking in delicate timbres (which perhaps was why Feuerlein praised the *Quinta-dehna* so much for its sweetness).

²⁴ Boxberg describes the *Cymbel* in the Pedals of the Görlitz organ as 'a very sharp two-rank stop which does not repeat, but runs as 1 and $1\frac{1}{2}$ throughout. Of the small stops it is best suited for carrying a *cantus firmus*.' So perhaps it was the custom to play a chorale line at pitch with a mutation or mixture, which could have been done in Nürnberg. It would nevertheless have sounded very strange, to our ears anyway.

²⁵ Belotti (Preface to Volume 1 of the Wayne Leupold edition of *The Complete Works for Keyboard*, pp xxi-xxii) mentions Scheidt's views on the importance of the *Sesquialtera* for the playing of chorale melodies 'with a sharp voice', conceding that the sound was available in Erfurt, and suggesting that such a sound was what Pachelbel had in mind for the solo line of *Wir glauben*.

There was a small organ in St. Sebaldus' Church from 1447.²⁶ The small organ that was there in Pachelbel's time was built in 1657 by Nicolaus Manderscheit, and is described as '*Orgelwerk in Engelschore*' with 13 stops and 3 bellows; it was gifted by the guild of silversmiths. It was probably used as much as the large one. Its specification was:

The small organ in St. Sebaldus' Church, Nürnberg

Manual	Pedal
Principal-Flöte 8	Subbass 16
Grob Gedackt 8	Violon 8
Principal 4	Posaunenbass 8
Klein Gedackt 4	
Quinta 3	
Octava 2	
Super Octava 1	
Mixtura III (2)	
Cymbel 2	
Krummhorn 8	
[Specification in Belotti's Preface to Volume 1 of the Wayne Leupold edition, p xx, cited as from Johann Ulrich Sponsel, <i>Orgelhistorie</i> (1771)]	

What is interesting in this specification is the provision of the reeds. Here the chorale sections of Pachelbel's combination-type settings with the *cantus firmus* in the bass could have been played with the *Posaunenbass* ringing out. The *Krummhorn*, though, which would normally have been thought of as a solo stop, since there is no accompanying manual, must have been a chorus stop. Thus *bicinia* and pieces with an obvious solo line (*Wir glauben*) would have had to be played on just one manual; whether the manual was divided is not known. Even so, since even in these pieces there are no part-crossings or collisions, this method of performance was quite feasible. The provision on the manual is very complete, more so than on the larger organ; nevertheless, the fact of the single manual means that all

²⁶ Herold, 1890, p 23.

Pachelbel's pieces must have been played on this instrument in the plainest possible way.

Even if it is only a supposition that Pachelbel, when he played in Nürnberg the pieces he had written in Erfurt, played them very plainly, there is little doubt how the works that he wrote in Nürnberg, the *Magnificat* fugues, are to be played. These are all strictly fugal, and the idea of playing any of the lines as a solo would be absurd.²⁷ Although the pedal is used (and even marked) from time to time, this is only to carry a slow-moving *cantus firmus*. The fugal argument could have been, and probably mostly was, carried by the manuals;²⁸ certainly nowhere is the layout too widespread to be played without pedals. These works have what might be called a certain luxurious austerity, being the culmination of a life's work. Their austerity undoubtedly suits the organs in Nürnberg, especially the small one; although Nolte has shown that these fugues are not *alternatim* versets,²⁹ they are almost certainly associated with choral performances of the *Magnificat*. It seems not entirely fanciful to imagine that such performances at Vespers would have been led from the small organ, and that these pieces would have been written with it, and the plain style of performance it would have necessitated, in mind. There is perhaps the possibility that such a style of playing may have exerted a reverse influence on the way Pachelbel played his other pieces. One has the feeling that a certain austerity was congenial to him, that the austere, severe fugal style suited his temperament, and that the earlier, potentially more colourful organ chorales were played just as severely by the man himself, and that they respond best to this treatment.

²⁷ I.3, I.17, II.3, III. 10, VIII.2 and VIII.12 are *bicinia*; since, however, they are fugues, one presumes an equality of voices was intended. Nevertheless, it would be conceivable to play them on two manuals, though neither manual could be considered as a solo.

²⁸ Belotti *ibid*, p xv; 'the counterpoint is left to the manuals'.

²⁹ Ewald V. Nolte, The Magnificat Fugues of Johann Pachelbel: Alternation or Intonation? in *JAMS*, ix (1956), pp 19-24.

Appendix 2

Kernlieder

Kernlieder in Dempsey's list, 'Kernlieder 1524-1587'

*Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein
Ein neues lied heben wir an
Aus tieffer Noth schrei ich zu dir
Christum wir sollen loben schon
Dein armer Haufe thut klagen
Dies sind die heiligen zehn Gebot
Durch Adams fall is ganz verderbt
Erbarm dich mein o Herre Gott
Es ist das Heil uns kommen her
Es spricht der unweisen Mund wohl
Freulich wollen wir halleluia singen
Gelobet seistu Jhesu Christ
Gott der Vater wohn uns bei
Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet
Herr Christ der einig Gottes son
Hilff Gott wie ist der menschen not
In Gott glaub ich, das er hat aus nicht
Jesus Christus unser Heiland der den tod uberwand
Jhesus Christus unser Heiland der von (Hus lied)
Kom Gott Schoepfer heiliger Geist
Komm heiliger Geist Herre Gott, erfuell mit
Mensch willt du leben seliglich
Mit fried und freud ich fahr dahin
Mitten wir im leben sind
Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist
Nun freut euch lieben Christen gemein
Nun komm der heiden Heiland
Wer Gott nicht mit uns diese zeit
Wir glauben all an einen Gott
Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns haelt
Wol dem der in Gottes furcht steht
An Wasserfluessen Babylon
Der Doricht spricht: Es ist kein Gott*

Ein kindlein so löblich
 O Gott Vater der du hast so gewalt
 O Herr wer wird sein wonung han
 O Herre Gott begnade mich
 Wo Gott zum Haus nich giebt sein Gunst
 Vater unser wir bitten dich
 Allein Gott in der hoh sey ehr und da
 Captain Herr Gott Vater mein
 Christ lag in Todes Banden, fur unser Suend
 Christe der du bist Tag und Licht
 Christe du Lamm Gottes
 Herr wer wird wohnen in dein huett
 Mag ich Ungluck nicht widerstan
 Ach Huelff mich Leid und sehnlich Klag
 Singet dem Herren ein neues Lied
 Da Israel aus Egypten zog
 Danksagen wir alle Gott unserem Herrn Christo
 Jesaja dem Propheten das geschah
 O Herre Gott, dein goettlich Wort
 Von allen Mensch abgewandt
 Kommt her zu mir spricht Gottes Sohn
 Der Tag der ist so freudenreich
 Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott
 Ich ruff zu dir Herr Jesu Christ
 O Jesu Christ, dein Name
 Verleih uns friedenn gnaediglich
 Barmherziger ewiger Gott
 Herr Gott, dich loben wir
 Lob sei den allmechtigen Gott
 Nun lasst uns den Leib begraben
 O lam Gottes unschuldig
 Weltlich Ehr und zeitlich Gut
 Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt
 Hilff Gott dass mit gelinge
 In dulci jubilo
 Vergebens is all muhe und kost
 Sie ist mir lieb die werthe Magd
 Vom himmel hoch da komm ich her
 Auf diesen Tag so denken wir
 O wie selig ist der Tod
 Nun hoeret zu ihr Christenleut
 Vater unser im himmelreich der da uns
 Allein zu dir Herr Jesu Christ
 In dich hab ich gehoffet Herr
 Kehr und kehr um du junger Sohn
 Nun lob mein Seel den Herren
 O reicher Gott im Throne
 Was fuerchst du Feind Herodes sehr

Erhalt uns Herr bey deinem wort
 Freut euch ihr lieben Christen
 Nun lasst uns Christen frolich sein
 Vom himmel kam der engel Schaar
 O wir armen Suender
 Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam
 Der du bist drei in Einigkeit
 Danket dem Herren den er ist so freundlich
 Gottes Sohn ist komen
 Lob Gott du Christenheit
 All ehr und lob sol Gottes sein
 Ein Kind geborn zu Bethlehem (Puer natus in Bethlehem)
 Es war einmal ein reicher Mann
 Gott Vater in dem Himmelreich
 Ach Herr mit deiner hulff erschein
 O Gott du hochster gnaden Hort
 Gott hat das Evangelium gegeben das wir
 Nun freut euch Gottes kinder all
 Herr Jesu Christ wahr Mensch und Gott
 Mag ich dem Tod nich widerstahn
 Christ fuhr gen Himmel
 Herr Gott nun sei gepreiset
 Herr Gott dich loben wir und sollen billich
 Ich hab mein Sach zu Gott gestellt
 Herzlich thut mich erfreuen
 Steht auf ihr lieben Kinderlein
 Christe du bist der helle Tag
 Mag es ja nicht anders sein
 Ihr lieben Christen freut euch nun
 Ihr lieben Christen freut euch nun bald
 Die helle Sonn leucht jetzt herfuer
 Erschienen ist der herrlich Tag
 Geborn ist der heilig Christ
 Gib Fried zu unsrer Zeit o Herr
 Lobt Gott ihr Christen alle gleich
 Nun schlaff mein liebes Kinderlein
 Nun schlaff mein liebes Kindlein
 So wahr ich leb spricht Gott der Herr
 Ach lieben Christen seid getrost
 Hört auf mit Trauern und Klagen
 Bescheer uns Herr der taeglich Brot
 Got Vater der du deine Sonn
 Meine Seel soll aus Herzensgrund
 Meinem lieben Gott ergeb ich mich
 Wenn mein stundlein
 Herr Jesu Christe Gottes Sohn
 Warumb betruetztst du dich mein herz
 Ach wie elend ist unsre Zeit

*Lobet den Herren denn er ist so freundlich
 Eewiger Vater im Himmelreich
 Gott ist mein Heil Glück Hülff und Trost
 Helfft mir Gottes Guete preisen
 Lass mich dein sein und bleiben
 Herr wie du willst so schicks mit mir
 Ich weitz dass mein erlöser lebt
 Nun laßt uns Gott dem Herren
 Singen wir aus Herzens Grunde
 Ach bleib bei uns Herr Jesus Christ
 Aus meines Herzens Grunde
 Es ist gewisslich and der Zeit
 Herr Jesus Christ ich weiß gar wohl
 Ein Würmlein bin ich arm und klein*

Dempsey, Christine Anne Hancock
*Geistliche Gesangbuch, Geistreiche Gesangbuch: the development of confessional
 unity in the evangelical hymnbook 1524-1587*
 Loncoln, Nebraska, 2003, p 221-225

[Spellings as in Dempsey's list]

Kernlieder in Stuttgart hymn book of 1855, 'In 150 Kernliedern'

1. *Mit Ernst, ihr Menschenkinder,*
2. *Wie soll ich dich empfangen*
3. *Gott sei Danck durch alle Zeit*
4. *Auf, auf, ihr Reichsgenossen!*
5. *Mach hoch die Thür, die Thor macht weit*
6. *Nun jauchzet, all ihr Frommen*
7. *Nun kommt das neue Kirchenjahr*
8. *Komm, Heiden Heiland, Lösegeld*
9. *Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ*
10. *Lobt Gott, ihr Christen alle gleich*
11. *Wir singen dir, Immanuel*
12. *Dieß ist der Tag, den Gott gemacht*
13. *Vom Himmel kam der Engel Schaar*
14. *Ihr Christen auserkoren*
15. *Der Tag, der ist so freudenreich*
16. *Da Christus geboren war*
17. *Nun singet und seid froh*
18. *Nun laßt uns gehn und treten*
19. *Das alte Jahr vergangen ist*
20. *Das liebe neue Jahr geht an*
21. *O Jesu Christe, wahres Licht*

22. *O König alle Ehren*
23. *Jesu, großer Wunderstern*
24. *Herr Jesu, Licht der Heiden*
25. *Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin*
26. *O Lamm Gottes unschuldig*
27. *O Welt, sieh hier dein Leben*
28. *Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen*
29. *Jesu, mienes Lebens Leben*
30. *Ein Lämmlein geht*
31. *Wenn mein Sünd mich kränken*
32. *O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden*
33. *Jesu, deine tiefe Wunden*
34. *Wir danken dir, Herr Jesu Christ*
35. *O Traurigkeit, O Herzeleid!*
36. *O hilf, Christe, Gottes Sohn*
37. *Christ ist erstanden*
38. *Christ lag in Todesbanden*
39. *Erschienen ist der herrlich Tag*
40. *O Tod, wo ist dein Stachel nun?*
41. *Christus ist erstanden*
42. *Wach auf, mein Herz, die Nacht ist hin*
43. *Frühmorgens, da die Sonn aufgeht*
44. *Ich geh zu deinem Grabe*
45. *Auf diesen Tag bedenken wir*
46. *Allein auf Christi Himmelfahrt*
47. *Ach wundergroßer Siegesheld*
48. *Komm, heiliger Geist, Herre Gott*
49. *Zeuch ein zu deinem Thoren*
50. *O Heiliger Geist, kehr bei uns ein*
51. *Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist*
52. *Komm, Gott, Schöpfer, heiliger Geist*
53. *O heiliger Geist, o heiliger Gott*
54. *Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr*
55. *Wir glauben all' an einen Gott*
56. *Gelobet sei der Herr, mein Gott, mein Licht*
57. *Gott der Vater wohn uns bei*
58. *Ach bleib bei deine Gnade*
59. *Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein*
60. *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott*
61. *Erhalt uns Herr, bei deinem Wort*
62. *Es wolle Gott uns gnädig sein*
63. *Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit*
64. *Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier*
65. *Schmücke dich, o liebe Seele*
66. *Ich komme, Herr, und suche dich*
67. *Herr Jesu Christ, du höchstes Gut*
68. *Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend*
69. *Herr, öffne mir die Herzensthür*

70. *Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier* (different hymn from No. 64, same tune)
71. *Nun, Gottlob, es ist vollbracht*
72. *O heilige Dreifältigkeit*
73. *Gott des Himmels und der Erden*
74. *O selges Licht, Dreifältigkeit*
75. *Hinunter ist die Sonnenschein*
76. *Herr Gott, dich loben wir*
77. *Ich singe dir mit Herz und Mund*
78. *Lobet den Herren, den mächtigen König der Ehren*
79. *Lobe den Herren, o meine Seele!*
80. *Nun danket alle Gott*
81. *Nun danket all und bringet Ehr*
82. *Nun lob, mein Seel, den Herren*
83. *Nun preiset all Gottes Barmherzigkeit*
84. *O daß ich tausend Zungen hätte*
85. *Sei Lob un Ehr dem höchsten Gut*
86. *Ach Gott und Herr*
87. *Allein zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ*
88. *Aus tiefer Noth schrei ich zu dir*
89. *O Vater der Barmherzigkeit*
90. *Es ist das Heil uns kommen her*
91. *Jesus nimmt die Sünder an*
92. *Nun freut euch, ihr Christen gmein*
93. *So wahr ich lebe, spricht dein Gott*
94. *Ein reines Herz, Herr, schaff in mir*
95. *Mache ich mein Geist bereit*
96. *Mir nach, spricht Christus, unser Held*
97. *Rüstet euch, ihr Christenleut*
98. *Eins is noth, ach Herr, diesß Eine*
99. *Halt im Gedächtnis Jesum Christ*
100. *Herzlich lieb hab ich, o Herr*
101. *Meinem Jesum laß ich nicht!*
102. *Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern*
103. *Ich ruf zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ*
104. *Herr, wie du wilt, so schicks mit mir*
105. *In dich hab ich gehoffet, Herr*
106. *Laß mich dein sein und bleiben*
107. *O Gott, du frommer Gott*
108. *Vater unser im Himmelreich*
109. *Verleih uns Frieden gnädiglich*
110. *Jesu, mein Freude*
111. *Weicht, ihr Berge, fällt ihr, Hügel*
112. *Wer ist wohl wie du, Jesu, süße Ruh*
113. *Sollt ich meinem Gott nicht singen*
114. *Auf meinen lieben Gott*
115. *Alles ist an Gottes Segen*
116. *Befiehl du deine Wege*
117. *Gib dich zufrieden und sei stille*

118. *Ich bin ein Gast auf Erden*
119. *Herr, unser Gott, laß nicht zu Schmerzen werden*
120. *In allen meinen Thaten*
121. *Ist Gott für mich, so trete gleich*
122. *Verzage nicht, du Häuflein klein*
123. *Von Gott will ich nicht lassen*
124. *Warum betrübst du dich, mein Herz?*
125. *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöthen sein*
126. *Wer Gott vertraut, hat wohl gebaut*
127. *Was Gott thut, das ist wohl gethan*
128. *Warum soll ich denn gräumen?*
129. *Was mein Gott will, das gscheh allzeit*
130. *Wer nur den lieben Gott läßt walten*
131. *Christus, der ist mein Leben*
132. *Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist*
133. *Wer weiß, wie nahe mir mein Ende!*
134. *Herzlich thut mich verlangen*
135. *Freu dich sehr, o meine Seele*
136. *Herr Jesu Christ, wahr Mensch und Gott*
137. *Machs mit mir, Gott, nach deiner Güt*
138. *O Welt, ich muß dich lassen*
139. *Valet will ich dir geben*
140. *Wie fleugt dahin der Menschen Zeit*
141. *Mitten wir im Leben sind*
142. *Nun laßt uns den Leib begraben*
143. *Wachet auf! Ruft uns die Stimme*
144. *Es ist gewisslich an der Zeit*
145. *O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort*
146. *Jesus, meine Zuversicht*
147. *Alle Menschen müssen sterben*
148. *O wie selig seid ihr doch, ihr Frommen*
149. *Wer sind die vor Gottes Throne*
150. *Jerusalem, du hochgebaute Stadt*

Deutsches Evangelisches Kirchen-Gesangbuch: In 150 Kernliedern
Stuttgart und Augsburg, 1855

Appendix 3

A List of Pachelbel's Organ Chorales

The following is a list of the organ chorales of Johann Pachelbel. This list is as complete as I can make it, and includes all works of disputed authorship.

For each entry a verbal and musical text of the chorale is provided. The word texts are taken from Erf1663, except for *Meine Seel' erhebt den Herren*, which is not in Erf1663. This text is taken from Matthaei's edition of the organ works of Pachelbel, *Ausgewählte Orgelwerke* (organ chorales in BA 239 and 287), which gives verbal (and musical) texts, but does not give their provenance. Translations are mostly from Mark S. Bighley *The Lutheran Chorales in the Organ Works of J. S. Bach*, these being the texts found in Georg Christian Schemelli's *Musicalisches Gesang-Buch*, Leipzig, 1736. These texts are almost all identical to those in Erf1663, differences almost always being in capitalisation, spelling and punctuation. I have provided my own translation for chorales not in Bighley's book.

Music texts of the chorales are mostly from Erf1663; a few are from Weimar 1704, the occasional one from Matthaei. I have tried to present them in a form as close to the original as possible, but the original form of the rests and some of the ligatures are beyond the capacity of my computer to supply. In a few cases I have halved the time values, and made one or two other adjustments. I have attributed each melody to a composer wherever possible.

Each entry gives a long enough incipit of each organ chorale to preclude any possibility of confusion in identification. The most recent addition to the available editions of Pachelbel's organ works is Michael Belotti's edition, published by Wayne Leuphold, of the *Complete Works for Keyboard*, but the organ-chorale volumes are not yet in print. Matthaei's five-volume Bärenreiter Edition from the period before the Second World War was extended in the 70s by four volumes, but Volumes 6 and 9 contain free organ works, 7 and 8 Magnificat fugues, so the provision of organ

chorales is as it was in 1936. It nevertheless remains the most comprehensive general playing edition; the editorial additions to the texts of volumes 2-4, however (the organ chorales) date the edition, which is often poorly laid out, cluttered in appearance, is prescriptive in an inauthentic manner regarding the use of pedals, and has registration suggestions applicable to the Praetorius Organ in Freiberg-im-Breisgau but completely irrelevant for anywhere else. A less edited and cluttered text is provided by the two editions by Peters; the 'old' one gives some organ chorales in 8125b and 8125d (8125a consists of [most of] the chorale fughetts from Weimar 1704, 8125c is a selection of Magnificat fugues); the 'new' one claims to be an 'Urtext' edition, and consists of EP 9921a & b, but includes no organ chorales. The main drawbacks of the organ-chorale volumes of this edition, however, are the incompleteness (although one or two of the lacunae in Matthaei's edition are here filled), and the prescriptive (and misguided) arrangement of the music with regard to the use of the pedals.

Seiffert's 1903 DTB edition is available from Dover (though obtainable only with some difficulty in the UK). It is a reprint of Volume iv/I of *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern*, originally printed by Breitkopf und Härtel in 1903. Many of Pachelbel's organ works appear in mixed collections of one sort or another, although the organ chorales are not much featured in collections other than those specifically devoted to organ chorales. Many of these printings (especially the Peters *Alte Meister* volumes) give very over-edited texts. The best texts to date remain those in the DTB volume, and in Commer's collection, *Meister des Orgelbarocks*, reprinted in 1931 by Hans Redlich. There is, however, a very good new edition of the *Acht Choräle* from Amadeus. An edition such as Belotti's should have been produced years ago; it is a shame that the physical presentation of this edition, judging by the standard of those volumes so far issued, is not first class. The text itself may well be.

I give the location of all the organ chorales in the DTB and Matthaei editions, and, where a chorale is not in Matthaei, I give its location in Peters.

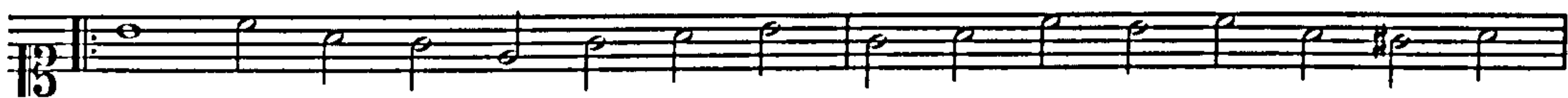
I have not included in the list the two unpublished chorales from MS D-Bhm MS 1491 (they appear in Appendix 4), nor have I listed those chorales from the Neumeister manuscript attributed to J. M. Bach by Wolff, but which I suspect to be by Pachelbel; but I have included *Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht*.

The Individual Organ Chorales

Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein

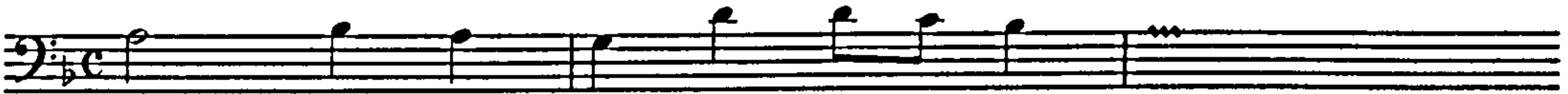
Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein,
und laß dich das erbarmen:
Wie wenig sind der Heilign dein,
verlassen sind wir Armen,
Dein Wort man läßt nicht haben wahr,
der Glaub ist auch verloschen gar
bey allen Menschen Kindern.

O God, look down from heaven and have mercy. How few are your holy ones! We poor people are forsaken. Your word is not to be found pure, faith also is extinguished among all the children of men. (Text Erf1663, and translation Bighley, p 17)



Music text Erf1663, No. 133 Composer Martin Luther 1524

Setting 1



(Perreault's citation of this piece as being in D-Bhm MS 1491 is mistaken)
DTB No. 1 Matthaei III, p 64

Setting 2



DTB No. 2 Not in Matthaei Peters Volume 2, No. 1

Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder

Ach Herr mich armen Sünder
 straf nicht deinem Zorn:
Dein ernsten Grimm doch linder,
 sonst ists mit mir verlohren.
ach Herr wollst mir vergeben
 mein Sünd und gnädig seyn,
 daß ich mag ewig Leben,
 entfliehen der Höllen Pein.

Lord, do not punish me, a poor sinner, in your wrath, but mitigate you earnest rage, otherwise I will be lost. O Lord, you want to forgive me my sins and be merciful, so that I may live eternally and escape the pain of hell. (Text Erf1663, translation Bighley, p 264)



Music text Erf1663, No. 131 Composer Hans Leo Hassler 1601

[The melody was also used for:

(b) *Herzlich thut mich verlangen*

Herzlich thut mich verlangen
 nach einem selgen End:
Weil ich hie bin umfängen
 mit Trübsal und Elend,
ich hab Lust abzuschneiden
 von dieser bösen Welt,
sehn mich nach ewign Freuden,
 O Jesu, komm nur bald.

I yearn from my heart for a blessed death, because I am surrounded here with sorrow and misery. I desire to depart from this evil world and long for eternal joy. O Jesus, only come soon. (Text Erf1663, translation Bighley, p 128)

(b) *Laß mich dein sein und bleiben*

Laß mich dein seyn und bleiben, du treuer Gott und Herr:
Von dir laß mich nichts treiben, halt mich bei reiner Lehr.
Herr, laß mich nur nicht wancken, gib mir Bestständigkeit,
dafür will ich dir danken in alle Ewigkeit.

Let me be and remain thine, you faithful God and Lord. Suffer not anything to drive me from you, keep me true to your teaching. Lord, let me not falter, give me constancy. For this I shall thank you throughout all eternity. (Text Erf1663, my translation)]



Music text from Matthaei IV, in the harmonisation used by Pachelbel for the partita *Herzlich thut mich verlangen*

Setting 1



DTB No. 3 Matthaei III, p17

Setting 2



DTB No. 4 Matthaei III, p18

Ach wie elend ist unsre Zeit

Ach wie Elend ist unser Zeit
allhie auf dieser Erden:
Gar bald der Mensch darnieder leit
wir müssen alle sterben:
Allhie in diesem Jammer-Thal
ist Müh und Arbeit überall,
auch wenn dirs wohl gelinget

O what wretchedness is our time here on this earth. Right soon mankind succumbs to his frailties; we must all die. Here in this vale of sorrows there is toil and trouble everywhere, even when success is your lot. (Text Erf1663, my translation)

[The text given in Matthaei is *Aus tiefer Not*:

Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir,
Herr Gott, erhöhr mein Rufen:
Dein gnädig Ohren kehr zu mir
und meiner Bitt sie öffnen;
Denn so du willst das sehen an,
was Sünd und Unrecht ist getan,
wer kan, Herr, für dir bleiben.

From deepest need I cry to you; Lord God, hear my call. Bend down your merciful ears to me and open them to my plea. Lord, who can remain before you when you wish to see the sin and injustice which is done? (Text Erf1663, translation Bighley, p 42)]



Music text Erf1663, No. 138 This tune is recommended as an alternative for *Aus tiefer Not* (No. 162, which is set to Luther's tune), and is set to Becker's *Der Mensch für Gott wohl selig ist* (No. 138) Composer anonymous.

Setting



DTB No. 5 Matthaei III, p 56

Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr

Allein Gott in der Höh sey ehr,
und dank für seine Gnade:
Darum daß nun und nimmermehr
uns rühren kan kein Schade,
einn Wohlgefalln Gott an uns hat,
nun ist gross Fried ohn unterlaß,
all Fehd hat nun ein Ende.

Glory be to God alone on high and thanks for his mercy, for harm cannot touch us now or in the future. God has goodwill toward us. Now there is great peace without pause; all quarrels now have an end. (Text Erf1663, translation Bighley, p 34)



Music text Erf1663, No. 115 Composer Nicolaus Decius 1522

Setting 1



DTB No. 6 Matthaei II, p 24

Setting 2 J. H. Buttstedt



DTB No. 7 Matthaei II, p 27 Peters Volume 2, No. 2

Allein zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ

Allein zu dir Herr Jesu Christ,
mein Hoffnung steht auf Erden:
Ich weiß, daß du mein Tröster bist,
kein Trost mag mir sonst werden,
Von Anbeginn ist nichts erkohrn,
auf Erden ist kein Mensch geborn,
der mir aus Nöhten helfen kan,
ich ruf dich an,
zu dem ich mein Vertrauen han.

Only in you, Lord Jesus Christ, does my hope on earth belong. I know that you are my comforter; there should be no other comfort for me. From the very beginning nothing is chosen; no person was born on earth who could help me from my misery. I call on you, in whom I have my trust. (Text Erf1663, translation Bighley, p 267)



Music text Erf1663, No. 181 Composer anonymous 1541

Setting



DTB No. 8 Matthaei III, p13

Alio modo



Ibid.

An Wasserflüssen Babylon

The superscription to the hymn when it appeared in *Das dritt theil Straßburger kirchen ampt* was: "Psalm cxxxvij. *Super flumina Babylonis.*"

An Wasserflüssen Babylon da sassen wir mit Schmerzen;
Als wir gedachten an Zion, da weinten wir von Herzen.
Wir hiengen auf mit schweren Muht, die Harfen und die Orgeln gut
an ihre Bäum der Weyden, die drinnen sind in ihrem Land;
da musten wir viel Schmach und Schand täglich von ihnen leyden.

By the rivers of Babylon we sat in sorrow; when we thought about Zion, we wept from our hearts. With heavy spirits we hung the good harps and instruments on the trees of the meadow[s] which are in their land. There we had to suffer much disgrace and shame every day. (Text Erf1663, Translation Bighly, p 36)

The hymn (and its melody) was popular and immediately assumed into the corpus of *Kernlieder*. It appears in Babst45, in Wf69, in Würt1583, in Franck1631, in Haß/Nbg1608, in Scheidt's collection. The melody was used for Paul Gerhardt's *Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld*, and when this hymn appeared in PPM1656 and in Nbg90 it was set to that tune. The original hymn continued to appear (as it did in Brem1680), and was later used by J. S. Bach. Today, however, Greiter's hymn has disappeared from use, but the tune continues to be used for Gerhardt's hymn.

Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld
der Welt und ihrer Kinder:
Es geht und büßet in Gedult
die Sünden aller Sünden:
Es geht dahin wird matt und krank,
ergibt sich auf die Würge Banck,
verzieht sich alle Freuden;;
Es nimmet an Schmach, Hohn und Spott,
Angst, Wunden, Striemen, Kreuz und Tod,
und spricht: Ich wills gern leyden.

A little lamb goes forth and bears the guilt of the world and all its children; it goes forth and remits with forbearance the sins of all sinners; it goes forth, becomes weak and ill, gives itself up to the scaffold, renounces all joy; it takes upon itself shame, mockery and derision, fear, wounds, scourging, the cross and death, and says; I suffer all this willingly. (Text Erf1663, my translation)



Music text Erf1663, No. 67 (*Ein Lämmlein geht*) The tune is recommended for No. 163 (*An Wasserflüssen Babylon*) Composer Wolfgang Dachstein 1525

Setting 1



DTB No.9 Not in Matthaei Peters Volume 2, No. 3

Setting 2



DTB No. 10 Matthaei III, p 50

Auf meinen lieben Gott

Auf meinen lieben Gott
trau ich in Angst und Not,
der kann mich allzeit retten
aus Trübsal, Angst und Nöhten;
mein Unglück kann Er wenden,
steht alls in seinen Händen.

I trust in my beloved God when fearful and in need; He can save me always from affliction and distress and fear; He can turn away my ill luck, everything is in his hands. (Text Erf1663, my translation)

The image displays three systems of musical notation for a piano piece in 13/8 time. Each system consists of a treble staff and a bass staff, with a brace on the left. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The notation includes various note values (half notes, quarter notes, eighth notes, and sixteenth notes) and rests. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1 through 6 below the notes. The first system shows a sequence of notes in the treble staff, with a half note and a quarter note in the bass staff. The second system continues the melody, with a half note and a quarter note in the bass staff. The third system concludes the piece with a final chord in the treble staff and a half note and a quarter note in the bass staff.

Music text Weimar1704, no 151 This tune is given in Erf1663, set to *Mann spricht wen Gott erfreut* (No. 312) Composer Jacob Regnart (for *Wo soll ich fliehen*) 1590.

Setting J. M. Bach

Musical notation for the bass line of 'The Rose Tree'. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is common time (C). The melody consists of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some measures containing triplets. The notation includes a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp, and a common time signature. The melody is written on a single staff.

DTB No. 11 Matthaei III, p 88

Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht

Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht,
für dir ist Herr verborgen nichts,
du vätterliches Lichtes Glanz,
lehr uns den Weg der Wahrheit ganz.

Christ, you who are the day and light, before you, Lord, nothing is hidden. You
brilliance of the paternal light, teach us wholly of the ways of truth. (Text Erf1663,
translation Bighley, p 272)



Music text Erf1663, No. 215 Composer anonymous 1530

Setting



DTB No. 12 Not in Matthaei Peters Volume 2, No. 5 ‘Complete’ version as
BWV 1096 in NBA ‘*Orgelchoräle der Neumeister-Sammlung*’, p 16

Christ lag in Todesbanden

Christ lag in Todes Banden,
für unser Sünd gegeben:
Der ist wieder erstanden,
und hat uns bracht das Leben.
Deß wir sollen frölich seyn,
Gott loben und ihm danckbar seyn,
und singen Alleluja,
Alleluja.

Christ lay in the bonds of death, sacrificed for our sins. He is risen again and has brought us life. For this we should be glad, praise God and be thankful, and sing Alleluia. Alleluia. (Text Erf1663, translation Bighley, p 49)



Music text Erf1663, No.75 Composer Martin Luther 1524

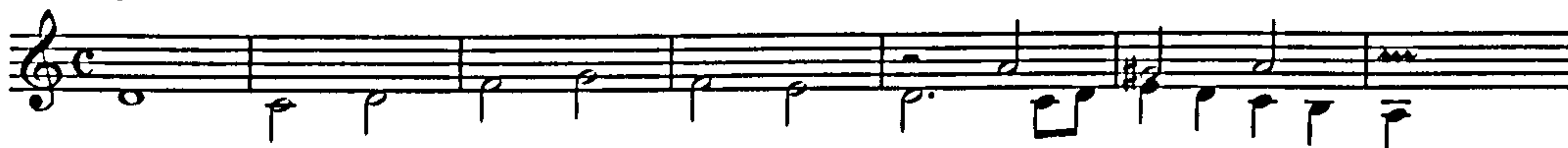
Setting 1



DTB No. 13 Matthaei II, p 48

There is a 'bowdlerised' version of this as BWV Anh 171 in the Bach-Gesellschaft Edition, Vol 4 of the Organ Works, p 174.

Setting 2 J. H. Buttstedt



Not in DTB Matthaei, or Peters. In Carus 30.650 – *J. M. Bach Sämtliche Orgelchoräle*, No. 27, p 58

Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam

Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam,
nach seines Vaters Willen:
Von Sanct Johannis die Taufe nahm,
sein Werck und Amt zurfüllen,
da wolt Er stiften uns ein Bad,
zu waschen uns von Sünden,
erstanden auch den bittern Todt,
durch sein selbst Blut und Wunden.
Es galt ein neues Leben.

Christ our Lord came to the Jordan according to his Father's will and received baptism from St. John to fulfill his work and office. He wanted to establish a bath for us to wash us from our sins and to drown bitter death by his own blood and wounds. A new life came into being. (Text Erf1663, translation Bighley, p 52)



Music text Erf1663, No. 178 Composer Martin Luther 1524

Setting



DTB No. 14 Matthaei III, p10

Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund

Da Jesus an dem Creuze stund,
und Ihm sein Leichnam ward verwundt
so gar mit bitterm Schmerzen,
die sieben Wort, die Jesus sprach,
betracht in Deinem Herzen.

Because Jesus stood at the cross and his body was wounded, even with bitter pain,
consider the seven words that Jesus spoke in your heart. (Text Erf1663, translation,
Bighley, p 62)



Music text Erf1663, No. 378 Composer anonymous

Setting



DTB No. 15 Matthaei II, p 42

Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt

Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt,
hält mich in seiner Hute:
Darinn mir gar nichts mangeln wird
jemals an einem Gute.
Er lest mich weiden ohn Unterlaß,
Darauf das wohlschmeckend Graß,
seines heilsamen Wortes.

The Lord is my trusty shepherd, he holds me in his care, where I never lack anything, never lack anything that is good. Without any hindrance He puts me out to pasture where the tasty grass of his healing word grows unfailingly. (Text Erf1663, my translation; Mosel's version, not Becker's)



Music text Erf1663, No. 135 Composer anonymous 1524.

Setting 1



DTB No. 16 Not in Matthaei Peters Volume 2, No. 6

Setting 2



DTB No. 17 Matthaei III, p 27

Der Tag, der ist so freudenreich

Der Tag der ist so freudenreich
aller Creature:
Denn Gottes sohn vom Himmelreich
über die Nature,
von einer Jungfrau ist gebohrn,
Maria, du bist auserkohn,
daß du Mutter werest.
Was geschah so wunderlich?
Gottes Sohn vom Himmelreich
der ist Mensch geboren.

The day is so joyous for all creatures, for God's Son from the kingdom of heaven is born of a virgin, beyond nature. Mary, you were chosen to become (his) mother. What happened so amazing? God's Son, from the kingdom of heaven, has had a human birth. (Text Erf1663, translation Bighley, p 70)



Music text Erf1663, No. 13 Composer anonymous 1529

Setting

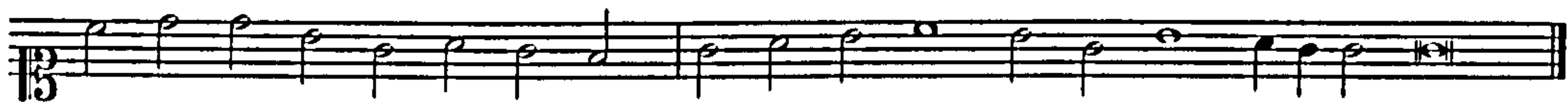


DTB No. 18 Matthaei II, p 14

Dies sind die heiligen zehn Gebot

Diß sind die heiligen zehn Gebot,
die uns gab unser Herre Gott,
Durch Mosen seinen Diener treu,
hoch auff dem Berge Sinai.
Kyrieleis.

These are the holy Ten Commandments which our Lord God gave to us through Moses, his true servant, high on Mount Sinai. *Kyrie eleison*. (Text Erf1663, translation Bighley, p 72)



Music text Erf1663, No. 168 Composer anonymous 1524

Setting



DTB No. 19 Not in Matthaei Peters Volume 2, No. 7

Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt

Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt,
Menschlich Natur und Wesen:
Dasselb Gifft ist auf uns geerbt,
daßs wir nicht kundten gnesen:
Ohn Gottes Trost,
der uns erlöst
hat von dem grossen Schaden,
darein die Schlang
Evam bezwang,
Gotts Zorn auf sich zu laden.

Through Adam's fall, the nature and essence of man is wholly corrupted. The same poison has been willed to us so that we could not recover without God's comfort, which has redeemed us from the great wrong into which the serpent forced Eve to take God's wrath upon herself. (Text Erf1663, translation Bighley, p 76)



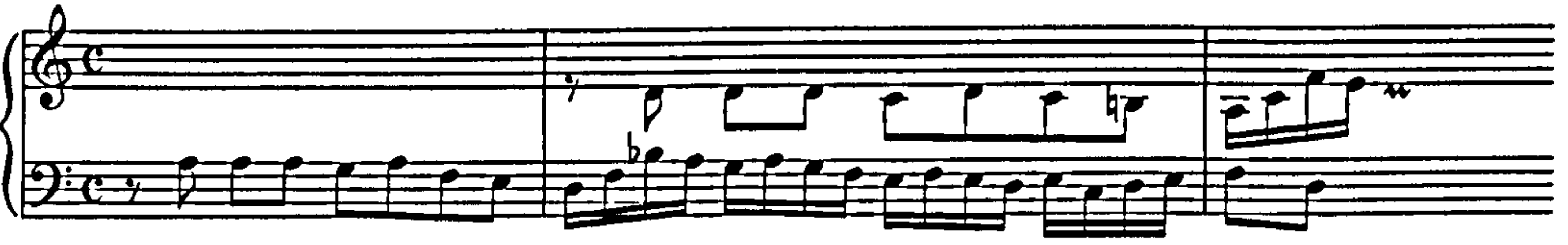
Music text Erf1663, No. 283 Composer anonymous 1424, sacred 1529

Setting 1



DTB No. 20 Not in Matthaedi

Setting 2



DTB No. 21 Not in Matthaedi Peters Volume 2, No. 8

Setting 3



DTB No. 22 Matthaai III, p 21

Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott

Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott,
ein gute Wehr und Waffen:
er hilft uns frey aus aller Noth,
die uns itzt hat betroffen.
Der alt böse Feind,
mit Ernst ers itzt meynt,
großs Macht und viel List,
sein grausam Rüstung ist,
auf Erd ist nicht seins gleichen.

Our God is a strong fortress, a good set of weapons. He helps free us from all misery which has come to us. The old, evil foe is now serious; great power and much trickery are his cruel armaments. There is no one equal to him on earth. (Text Erf1663, translation Bighley, p 81)



Music text Erf1663, No. 143 Composer Martin Luther 1528.

Setting

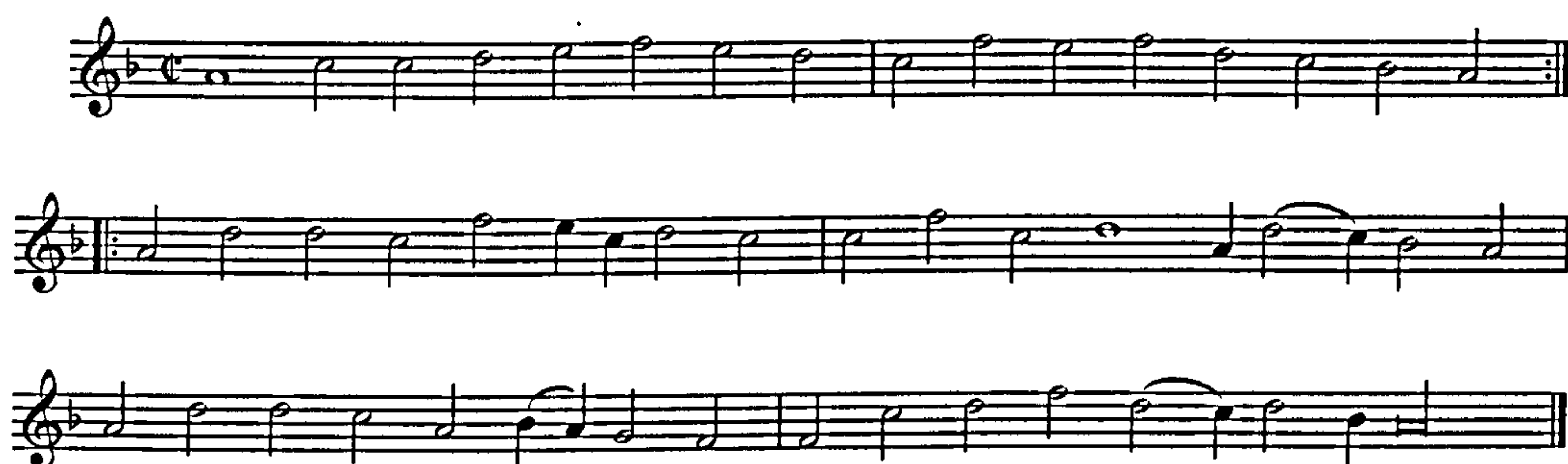


DTB No. 23 Matthaei III, p 69

Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott

Erbarm dich mein, O Herre Gott,
nach deiner grossn Barmherzigkeit:
Wasch ab, mach rein mein Missethat,
ich bekenn mein Sünd, und ist mir Leid,
Allein ich dir gesündigt han,
das ist wider mich stetiglich,
das Böß für dir mag nicht bestahn,
du bleibst gerecht, ob man Urtheile dich.

Have mercy on me, O Lord God, according to your great mercy. Wash away my transgressions, make them pure. I recognise my sin and am sorry. I have sinned only against you, which is always against me. Evil may not stay before you; you remain just, even if others condemn you. (Text Erf1663, translation Bighley, p 83)



Music text Erf1663, No.139 This tune is set to Becker's *Herr straff mich nicht in deinem Zorn*, No. 139, but is recommended as the tune for No. 144 (*Erbarm dich mein, O Herre*)

Setting



DTB No. 24 Not in Matthaei Peters Volume 2, No. 9

Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort

Erhalt uns, Herr, bey deinem Wort
und stewr des Bapsts und Türken Mord,
die Jesum Christum, deinen Sohn,
stürzen wollen von seinem Thron.

Support us in your word, Lord, and restrain the murder of the pope and Turk, who
want to cast down Jesus Christ, your Son, from his throne. (Text Erf1663, translation
Bighley, p 284)

Music text Weimar1704, No. 131 Same cantus, first two bars, in Erf1663, No.237
(Erhalt uns, Herr) Composer Martin Luther 1543

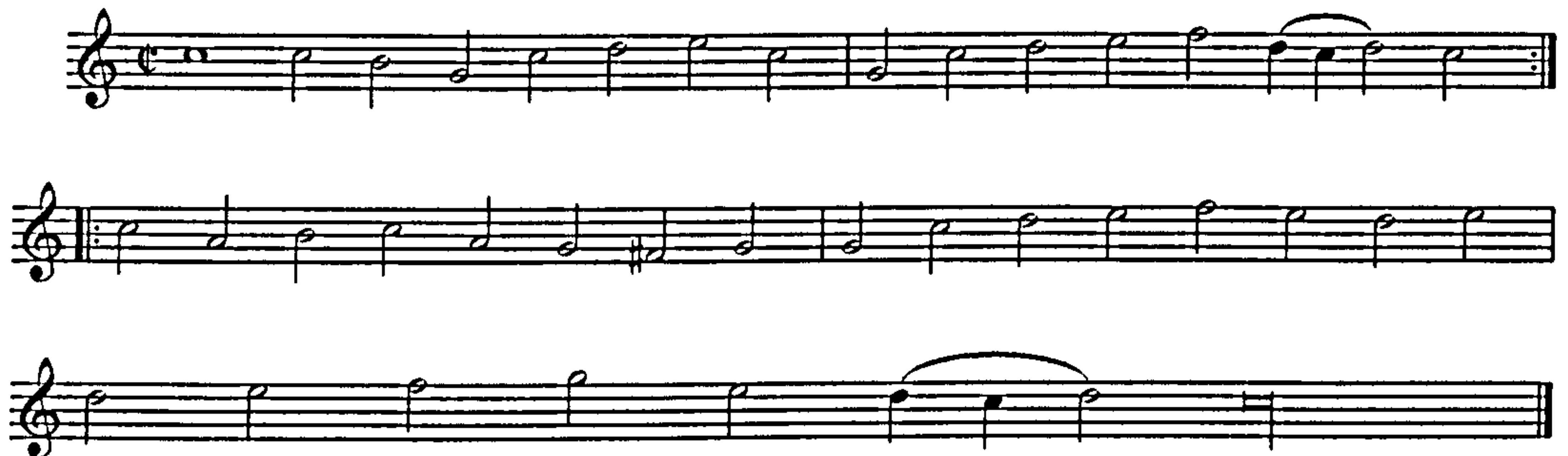
Setting G. Böhm

DTB No. 25 Not in Matthaei

Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl

Es spricht der unweisen Mund wohl:
den rechten Gott wir meynen:
Doch ist ihr Herz Unglaubens vol,
mit That sie Ihn verneinen.
Ihr Wesen ist verderbet zwar,
für Gott ist es ein Grewel gar;
es thut ihr keiner kein Gut.

The fool says: "We believe in the just Lord." Yet their hearts are full of unbelief, by their deeds they deny Him. Their soul is indeed corrupt, for God it is a complete abomination; it does none of them any good. (Text Erf1663, my translation)



Music text Erf1663, No. 134 Composer Johann Walter? 1524

Setting 1 Heinrich Scheidemann

This piece it is the third variation of a chorale partita by Heinrich Scheidemann

DTB No. 26 Not in Matthaedi Peters Volume 2, No. 10

Setting 2



DTB No. 27 Matthaedi III, p 66

Es woll uns Gott gnädig sein

Es wolt uns Gott genädig seyn
und seinen Segen geben:
Sein Antlitz uns mit hellem Schein,
erleucht zum ewgen Leben.
Daß wir erkennen seine Werck,
und was ihm liebt auf Erden,
und Jesus Christus Heil und Stärck,
bekand den Heyden worden,
und sie zu Gott bekehren.

The Lord will be gracious unto us and bless us, will make his face to shine upon us for evermore, so that we may know his ways and what is pleasing to him on earth, and that the healing and strength of Jesus Christ are made known to the unbelievers, that they might turn to God. (Text Erf1663, my translation)



Music text Erf1663, No. 147 Composer anonymous 1524

Setting 1



DTB No. 28 Matthaei III, p 74

Setting 2

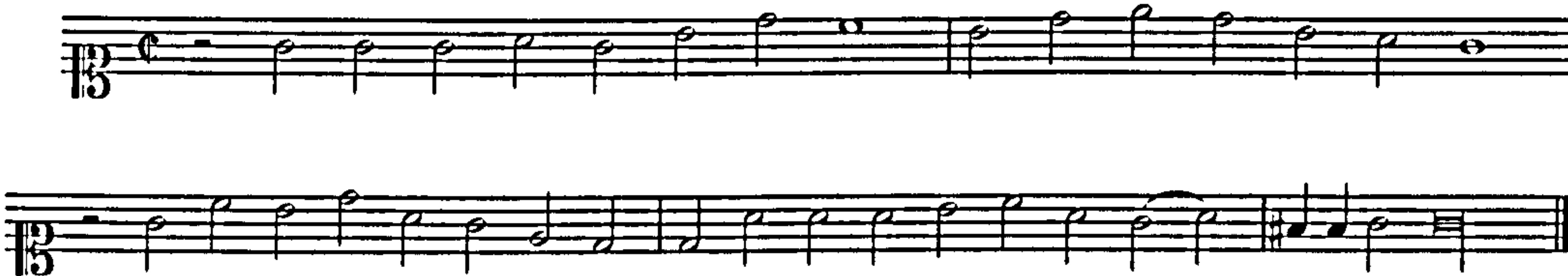


DTB No. 29 Matthaei III, p 75

Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ

Gelobet seyst du Jesu Christ,
daß du Mensch geboren bist,
von einer Jungfrau, das ist wahr,
des freuet sich der Engel Schaar,
Kyrieleis.

Praise to you, Jesus Christ, for being born to a human from a virgin, this is true.
Therefore the angel host rejoices. *Kyrie eleison*. (Text Erf1663, translation Bighley, p 104)



Music text Erf1663, No. 11 Composer Martin Luther 1524

Setting



DTB No. 30 Matthaei II, p 12

Gott der Vater wohn uns bei

Gott der Vater, wohn uns bey,
und lass uns nicht verderben:
Mach uns aller Sünden frey,
und hilf uns selig sterben.
Für dem Teuffel uns bewahr,
halt uns bey festem Glauben,
und auf dich laßs uns bauen,
aus Herzen Grund vertrauen,
Dir uns lassen ganz und gar,
mit allen rechten Christen
entfliehn des Teuffels Listen,
mit Waffen Gottes uns fristen,
Amen, Amen, das sey wahr,
so singen wir Alleluja.

God the Father, be present with us and do not let us perish. Make us free of all sins and help us die blessedly. Guard us from the devil and keep us firm in the faith. Let us build on you, trust you from the depths of our hearts, yield ourselves to you completely, flee with all true Christians from the devil's cunning, arm ourselves with God's weapons! Amen, Amen, this is true. Therefore we sing Alleluia. (Text Erf1663, my translation)



Music text Erf1663, No. 114 Composer anonymous

Setting



DTB No. 31 Matthaei II, p 60

Gott hat das Evangelium

Gott hat das Evangelium gegeben,
daß wir werden fromm;
die Welt acht solchen Schatz nicht hoch,
der mehrer Teil fragt nicht darnach;
das ist ein Zeichen vor dem jüngsten Tag.

God has given the Gospel so that we might be holy; the world does not value this treasure highly, most people do not seek after it; this is one of the signs that heralds the last days. (Text Erf1663, my translation)



Music text Erf1663, No. 354 Composer anonymous

Setting J. M. Bach



Matthaei III, p 93 DTB No. 32

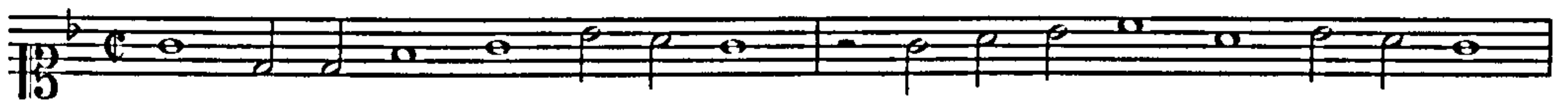
This organ chorale appears in Carus 30.650, No. 7, p 22, as by J. M. Bach and in the key of D minor. A further setting, supposedly by J. M. Bach, No. 6, p 20 in the same volume, is in the quite distinctive 'combination' form so characteristic of Pachelbel and not found elsewhere except here and in J. M. Bach's setting of *Nun freut euch* (DTB 49).

Gott Vater, der du deine Sonn

Gott Vater, der du deine Sonn,
leßt scheinen über Bös und Fromm,
und der ganzen Welt damit leuchst,
mit Regn und Thau die Erd befeuchst;

Die Berg machst du von oben naß
und läßt drauf Laub und Graß,
in Gäng und Felß gut Erz du legt,
Fried, Schutz und Recht du selber hegst.

God, Father, who causes your sun to shine on righteous and unjust alike and by so doing illuminates the whole world, watering the earth with rain and dew; you who make the hill wet from above and thereby cause leaves and grass to grow thereon, who in matrix and seam lays down ore, you yourself foster peace, security and justice. (Text Erf1663, my translation)



Music text Erf1663, No. 257 Composer anonymous

Setting J. M. Bach



DTB No. 33 Matthaei III p 54

This organ chorale is given in Carus 30.650, No. 33, p 68, as anonymous, possibly either by J. M. Bach or Pachelbel.

Herr Christ, der ein'ge Gottessohn

Herr Christ, der einig Gotts Sohn,
Vaters in Ewigkeit:
Aus seinem Herzn entsprossen,
gleich wie geschrieben steht.
Er ist der Morgen Sterne,
sein Glanz streckt Er so ferne,
für andern Sternen klar.

Lord Christ, the only son of God the Father in eternity, sprung from his heart, just as it stands written. He is the morning star. His brightness exceeds that of other clear stars. (Text Erf1663, translation Bighley, p 116)



Music text Erf1663, No.297 This tune is set to *O Vater aller Frommen*, but is recommended as the tune for No.284 (*Herr Christ, der ein'ge Gottes Sohn*)
Composer anonymous 1540

Setting



DTB No. 34 Matthaei II, p 8

Herr Gott, dich loben alle wir

Herr Gott, dich loben alle wir
und sollen billig danken dir,
Für dein' Geschöpf der Engel schön,
die umb dich schweben in deinem Thron.

Lord God, we all praise thee; it is meet and right that we should thank thee for thy creation of the fair angels who hover round thy throne. (Text Erf1663, my translation)



Music text Erf1663, No. 120 This tune is set to *Sey Lob, Ehr, Preiß und Herrlichkeit*, (No. 120), and is recommended as the tune for No 126 (*Herr Gott, dich loben alle wir*) Composer anonymous (Genevan Psalter)

Setting



DTB No. 35 Not in Matthaei Peters Volume 2, No. 11

Herr Jesu Christ, ich weiss gar wohl

Herr Jesu Christ ich weiß gar wohl,
daß ich einmal muß sterben:
Wann aber das geschehen soll,
und wie ich werd verderben,
dem Leibe nach, das weiß ich nicht,
es steht allein in deinm Gericht;
du siehst mein letztes Ende.

Lord Jesus Christ, I know very well that sometime I must die; when, however, that will happen, and how I shall perish bodily, I know not, that is solely according to thy judgement; thou knowest mine uttermost end. (Text Erf1663, my translation)



Music text Erf1663, No. 332 Composer anonymous

Setting

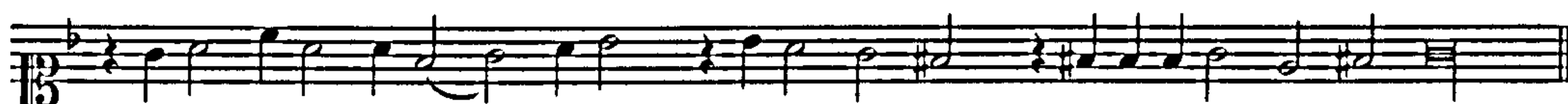


Not in DTB Matthaei III, p 90

Ich hab' mein' Sach' Gott heimgestellt

Ich hab mein Sach Gott heimgestellt,
Er machs mit mir wies ihm gefellt,
soll ich allhier noch länger lebn,
nicht widerstrebn,
seinm Willen thue ich mich gar ergebn.

I have given over my affairs into God's hands; may he do with me what he pleases.
If I am to live here yet a little longer, I shall not resist; I shall give myself up
completely to his will. (Text Erf1663, my translation)



Music text Erf1663, No.187 This tune is set to *Ich weiß ein Blümlein* (No. 187),
and is recommended as the tune for No. 323 (*Ich hab' mein' Sach' Gott heimgestellt*)
Composer anonymous From a secular song, sacred 1589

Setting



DTB No. 36 Matthaei III, p 86

Ich ruf' zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ

Ich ruf zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ,
ich bitt, erhö r mein Klagen:
Verleih mir Gnad zu dieser Frist,
lass mich doch nicht verzagen
Den rechten weg, O Herr ich mein,
den wollest du mir geben,
Dir zu leben,
meinm N chsten nutz zu seyn,
dein wort zu halten eben.

I call to you, Lord Jesus Christ. I ask you to hear my complaint. Grant me grace at this time; let me not despair. I believe you want to show me the true path so that I live for you, be of help to my neighbour and keep your word exactly. (Text Erf1663, translation Bighley, p 143)



Music text Erf1663, No. 287 Composer anonymous 1526.

Setting 1



DTB No. 37 Matthaei III, p 32

Setting 2



DTB No. 38 Not in Matthaei Peters Volume 2, No. 12

In dich hab ich gehoffet, Herr

In dich hab ich gehoffet Herr,
helf daß ich nicht zu Schanden werd,
noch ewiglich zu Spotte,
das bitt ich dich,
erhalte mich,
in deiner treu Herr Gotte.

I have hoped in you, Lord. Help that I do not be put to shame or be in mockery eternally. This I ask of you, uphold me in your faithfulness, my God. (Text Erf1663, translation Bighley, p 146)



Music text Erf1663, No. 137 Composer Valentin Triller 1552

Setting



DTB No. 39 Mathaei III, p 43

Jesus Christus unser Heiland, der den Tod

Jesus Christus unser Heyland,
der den Todt überwand,
Ist auferstanden,
die Sünd hat er gefangen,
Kyrieleison.

Jesus Christ the Saviour, who overcame death, is risen and has captured sin. *Kyrie eleison*. (Text Erf1663, translation Bighley, p 154)



Music text Erf1663, No. 82 Composer anonymous 1524

Setting 1



Matthaei II, p52 DTB No. 40

Setting 2



DTB No. 41 Not in Matthaei Peters Volume 2, No. 13

Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der von uns

Jesus Christus unser Heyland
der von uns den Gottes Zorn wand,
durch das bitter Leyden sein
half Er uns aus der Höllen Pein.

Jesus Christ, our Saviour, turned God's wrath from us. He helped us from the pain of hell by his bitter suffering. (Text Erf1663, translation Bighley, p 154)



Music text Erf1663, No. 195 Composer anonymous 1524

Setting



DTB No. 43 Matthaei III, p 24 Peters Volume 2, No. 14

Komm, Gott Schöpfer, heiliger Geist

Komm, Gott Schöpfer, heiliger Geist,
besuch das Herz der Menschen dein,
Mit Gnaden sie füll, wie du deist,
dass dein Geschöpf vorhin seyn.

Come, God Creator, Holy Spirit, and visit the hearts of your people. Fill them with grace, for you know that your creation should be yours. (Text Erf1663, translation Bighley, p 161)



Music text Erf1663, No. 100 Composer Martin Luther, from the Plainsong 1529

Setting



DTB No. 43 Matthaei II, p58

This organ chorale appears in Carus 30.650, No 34, p 69, as possibly by J. M. Bach, more likely by Pachelbel.

Komm, heiliger Geist, Herre Gott

Komm heiliger Geist, Herre Gott,
erfüll mti deiner gnaden gut
deiner gläubigen herz, muth und sinn,
dein brünstig lieb entzünd in ihnn.
O Herr durch deines liches glanz
zu dem glauben versammelt hast
das volk aus aller welt zungen,
das sey dir, Herr, zu lob gesungen.
Alleluja, Alleluja.

Come, Holy Spirit, Lord God, fill the hearts, minds and spirits of your faithful with the goodness of your mercy. Ignite your ardent love in them. O Lord, through the brilliancy of your light you have gathered the peoples of all the world's tongues into the faith. Let this be sung to your praise. Alleluia. (Text Erf1663, translation Bighley, p 163)

The musical score consists of five staves of music. Each staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The first staff contains a single melodic line. The second staff continues the melody. The third staff introduces a second melodic line. The fourth staff continues the second line. The fifth staff concludes the piece with a final chord and a double bar line.

Music text Erf1663, No. 99 Composer Martin Luther 1522

Setting J. P. Armsdorf

The musical score is for a piano setting. It features a grand staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The piece begins with a single melodic line in the treble clef. The second staff introduces a second melodic line. The third staff continues the second line. The fourth staff continues the second line. The fifth staff concludes the piece with a final chord and a double bar line.

DTB No. 44 Matthaei II, p 57

Kommt her zu mir, spricht Gottes Sohn

Kommt her zu mir spricht Gottes Sohn,
all ihr seyd beschweret nun,
mit Sünden hart beladen,
ihr Jungen, Alten, Frau und Mann,
Ich will euch geben, was ich han,
und heilen euren Schaden.”

God’s Son says, “Come to me all you who are heavy laden, bowed down with sin, young, old, woman, man, what I have I will give you, I will heal your sin.” (Text Erf1663, No. 245, my translation)



Music text Erf1663, No.66 This tune is set to *Da der Herr Christ zu Tische saß* (No. 66), and is recommended as the tune for No. 245 (*Kommt her zu mir*)
Composer anonymous 1490, sacred 1530

Setting



DTB No. 66 Not in Matthaei Peters Volume 2, No. 15

Lob sei Gott in des Himmels Thron

Lob sey Gott in des Himmels Thron,
der uns geschenckt hat seinen Sohn,
und Ihn gesand auf diese Erdn,
daß wir durch Ihn sein Kinder werdñ,
Kyrieleiß

Praise be to God enthroned in the heavens, who has sent us the gift of his Son, has sent him to this world so that we might through him become sons of God. Lord have mercy on us. (Text Erf1663, my translation)



Music text Erf1663, No. 24 Composer anonymous (Michael Altenberg?)

Setting



DTB No. 46 Not in Matthaei

Mag ich Unglück nicht widerstahn

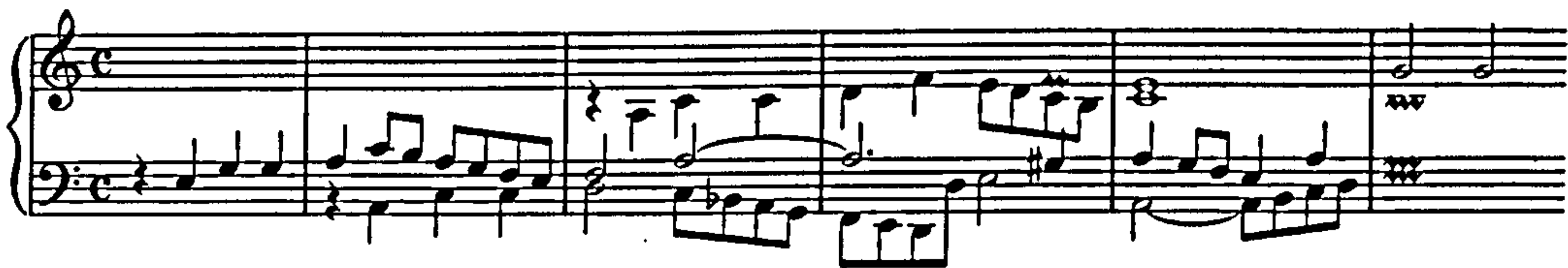
Mag ich Unglück nicht wider stahn,
muß Ungnad han der Welt für mein' recht glauben:
So weiß ich doch es ist mein Kunst
Gotts Huld und Gunst, die muß man mir erläuben.
Gott ist nicht weit, ein kleine Zeit, Er sich verbirgt,
bis Er erwürgt,
die mich seins Worts berauben.

If I am not able to fight against disaster; if I must endure disgrace from the world because of my true beliefs, then I know this, it is my art; to do God homage and experience his favour is something that I must be allowed. God is not far away, he hides himself but a short while; then he will extirpate those who (would) take his word away from me. (Text Erf1663, my translation)



Music text Erf1663, No. 298 Composer Michael Weiße (1544), or Ludwig Senfl

Setting J. M. Bach



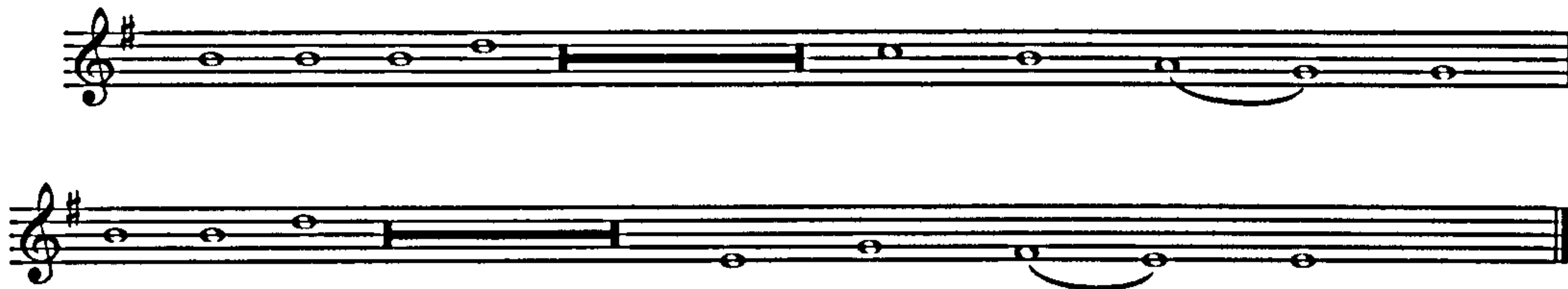
DTB No. 47 Matthaei III, p 44

Meine Seele erhebt den Herren

Meine Seele erhebt den Herren und mein Geist freut sich Gottes meines Heilandes;
Denn er hat die Niedrigkeit seiner Magd angesehen, siehe von nun an werden mich
selig preisen alle Kindeskinder.

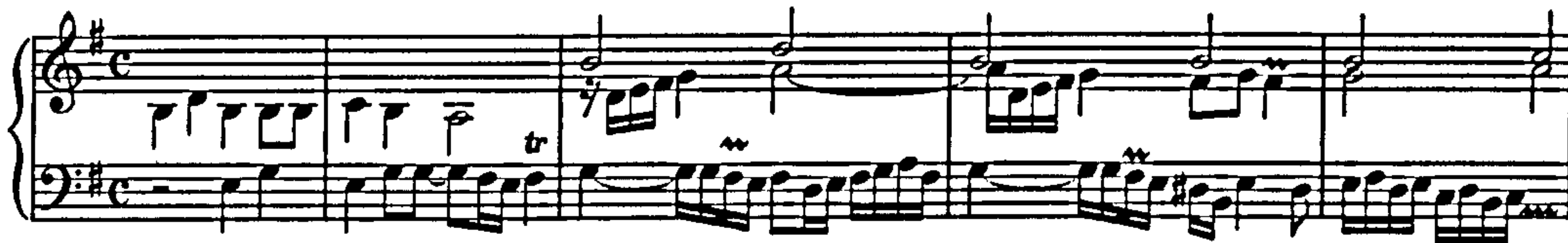
My soul doth magnify the Lord and my spirit rejoiceth in God my Saviour; for he
hath looked upon the lowliness of his handmaiden; for behold, from henceforth all
generations shall call me blessed. (Text, prose Psalm version, from Matthaei II, p 32,
my translation, after RSV)

Tonus peregrinus



Music text Matthaei II, p 32

Settings 1



Setting 2 *Alio modo*



DTB No.48 (and *Alio modo*) Matthaei II, pp 32 & 34

Nun freut euch, lieben Christen gmein

Nun freut euch lieben Christen gmein,
und lasst uns fröhlich springen:
Daß wir getrost, und all in ein,
mit Lust und Liebe singen:
Was Gott an uns gewendet hat,
und seine süsse Wunderthat,
gar theur hat Ers erworben.

Rejoice, dear Christians, and let us joyfully leap and sing together with pleasure and love, comforted by what God has done for us and his sweet miracle. He has gained us at a very high price. (Text Erf1663, translation Bighley, p 181)

Three systems of musical notation for the hymn 'Nun freut euch, lieben Christen gmein'. Each system consists of a grand staff (treble and bass clef) with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). The first system has a repeat sign at the end. The second system has a repeat sign at the end. The third system has a repeat sign at the end. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-5 below the notes. The first system has fingerings: 6, 1, 6, 5, 4, 1, 6, 6, 4, 1. The second system has fingerings: 1, 15, 6, 1, 15, 4, 1. The third system has fingerings: 6, 6, 4, 1.

Music text Weimar1704, No. 61 Erf1663 has the cantus of this version as the tune set for this hymn Composer Martin Luther 1524

Setting J. M. Bach

DTB No. 49 Matthaei II, p 54

[This tune is more usually sung to *Es ist gewisslich an der Zeit, Nun freut euch* having had from earliest times its own tune. The text of *Es ist gewisslich an der Zeit* is:

Es ist gewisslich an der Zeit,
dass Gottes Sohn wird kommen:
In seiner grossen Herrlichkeit,
zu richten Böses und Frommen,
Denn wird das Lachen werden theur
wann alles soll vergehen im Feuer,
wie Petrus davon schreibet.

It is truly only a matter of time until God's Son comes in his great glory to judge the evil and the good. Laughter will then cease, when everything perishes in fire as Peter writes. (Text Erf1663, translation Bighley, p 101)

Nun komm der Heiden Heiland

Nun komm der Heyden Heyland,
Der Jungfrauen Kind erkannt,
Deß sich wundert alle Welt,
Gott solch Geburt ihm bestellt.

Come now, Saviour of the nations, known to be the child of the virgin. All the world marvels that God would prepare such a birth for him. (Text Erf1663, translation Bighley, p 185)



Music text Erf1663, No. 1 Composer Martin Luther 1524

Setting

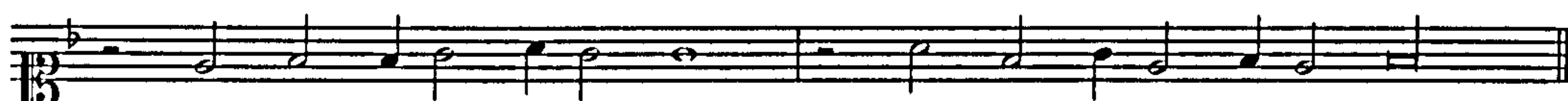
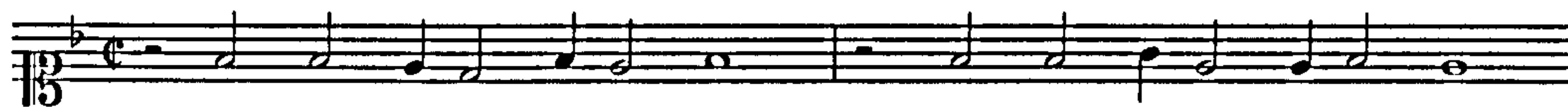


DTB No. 50 Matthaei II, p 4

Nun lass uns Gott dem Herren

Nun last uns Gott dem Herren
Danksagen und Ihn ehren
für alle seine Gaben,
die wir empfangen haben.

Now let us render thanks to the Lord God and do him honour for all his gifts that we have received. (Text Erf1663, my translation)



Music text Erf1663, No. 231 Composer anonymous

Setting J. M. Bach



DTB No. 51 Matthaei III, p 38

Nun lob, mein' Seel', den Herren

Nun lob mein Seel den Herren,
was in mir ist, den Namen sein:
Sein Wohltat tut er mehrer,
vergiß es nicht, O Herze mein.
Hat dir dein Sünd vergeben,
und heilt dein Schwachheit groß;
errett' dein armes Leben,
nimpt dich in seinen Schoß,
mit reichem Trost beschüttet,
verjüngt dem Adler gleich;
der König schafft Recht,
behütet die Leyden in seinem Reich.

Now praise the Lord, O my soul, all that is within me praise his holy name. He spreads his benefits far and wide, forget it not, O my heart. He hath forgiven thee all thine iniquities, and healed thee of thy great weakness; he preserves thy feeble life, takes thee into his bosom, shields thee with abundant consolation, so that thy youth is renewed like the eagle. The Lord does justly, he protects the suffering in his kingdom. (Text Erf1663, my translation with apologies to the RSV)



Music text Erf1663, No. 151 Composer Hans Kugelmann 1530

Setting



DTB No. 52 Matthaei III, p28 Peters Volume 2, No. 16

O Lamm Gottes unschuldig

O Lamm Gottes unschuldig
am stamm des Creuzes geschlachtet,
allzeit gefunden geduldig,
wiewohl di warst verachtet,
all Sünd hast du getragen,
sonst müsten wir verzagen,
erbarm dich unser O Jesu.

O Lamb of God, slaughtered innocently on the stem of the cross; always found patient, even though you were despised. You have borne all sins, otherwise we would have had to despair. Have mercy on us, O Jesus! (Text Erf1663, translation Bighley p 191)



The image shows three staves of musical notation for the hymn 'O Lamm Gottes unschuldig'. The notation is in a single system, with each staff containing a line of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The music is written in a simple, melodic style with various note values and rests. The second and third staves continue the melody, with the third staff ending with a double bar line and repeat dots.

Music text Erf1663, No. 59 Composer Nicolaus Decius 1523

Setting



The image shows a musical setting of the hymn 'O Lamm Gottes unschuldig'. It consists of a single system with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The music is written in a more complex, contrapuntal style, featuring various note values, rests, and ornaments (marked with 'w' and 'tr'). The setting is in a key signature of one flat and common time.

DTB No. 53 Matthaei II, p 44

O Mensch, beweine dein' Sünde groß

O Mensch beweine dein Sünde gross,
darümb Christus seins Vaters Schoß
eussert und kam auf Erden.
Von einer Jungfrau rein und zart
für uns Er hie gebohren ward,
er wolt der Mittler werden:
Den Todten Er das Leben gab,
und legt dabey all Krankheit ab,
bis sich die Zeit herdrange,
daß Er für uns geopffert würd.
trüg unsrer Sünden schwere Bürd
wohl an dem Creutze lange.

O man, bewail your great sins for which Christ left his Father's bosom and came to earth. He was born here of a virgin pure and tender for us; he wished to become the mediator. He gave his life to the dead and took away all sickness until the time came that he was sacrificed for us. He bore the heavy burden of our sin, indeed, long upon the cross. (Text Erfurt 1663, translation Bighley, p 192)



Music text Erf1663, No. 65 Composer Matthias Greiter 1525

Setting



DTB No. 54 Matthaei II, p 36

Vater unser im Himmelreich

Vater unser im Himmmlereich,
der du uns alle heissest gleich
Brüder seyn und dich ruffen an,
und wilt das Behten von uns han,
gib daß nicht beht allein der Mund,
hilff daß es geh aus Herzen Grund.

Our Father in the kingdom of heaven, who has called us all to be equal brothers and to call to you, and wants to have prayer from us, grant that not only the mouth prays. Help it to come from the depths of the heart. (Text Erf1663, translation Bighley, p 218)



Music text Erf1663, No. 172 Composer Martin Luther 1539

Setting 1



DTB No. 55 Matthaei III, p 8

Setting 2



DTB No. 56 Not in Matthaei Peters Volume 2, No. 17

Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her

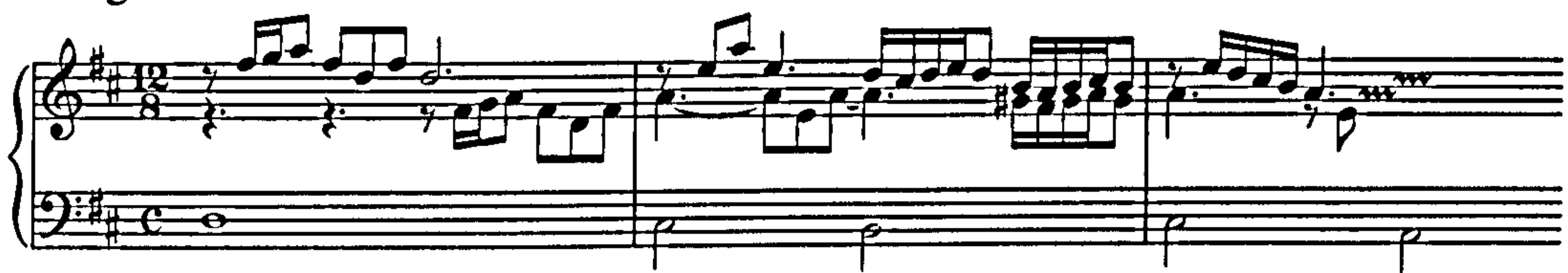
Vom himmel hoch komm ich her,
ich bring euch gute neue Mehr,
der guten Mehr bring ich so viel,
davon ich singen und sagen wil.

“I come from heaven on high and bring you good, new tidings. I bring so many good tidings, of which I will sing and speak.” (Text Erf1663, translation Bighley, p 221)



Music text Erf1663, No. 12. Composer Martin Luther, 1535.

Setting 1



DTB No. 57 Matthaei II, p18

Setting 2



DTB No. 58 Matthaei II, p 20

Warum betrübst du dich, mein Herz

Warum betrübst du dich, mein Herz,
bekümmerst dich und trägest Schmerz
nur ümb das zeitlich Guht.
Vertrau du deinem Herr Der Gott,
der alle Ding geschaffen hat.

Why troublest thou thyself, my heart, giving thyself grief and bearing pain only
about worldly things? Trust thou in thy Lord and God, who has created all things.
(Text Erf1663, my translation)



Music text Erf1663, No. 292 Composer anonymous

Setting 1



DTB No. 59 Matthaei III, p 59

Setting 2



DTB No. 60 Matthaei III, p 61

Was mein Gott will, das gescheh' allzeit

Was mein Gott will, das gscheh allzeit,
sein Will der ist der Beste:
Zu helfen denn Er ist bereit,
die an Ihn glauben feste.
Er hillft aus Noht, der fromme Gott,
und züchtiget die Welt mit maßen.
wer Gott vertraut, fest auf Ihn bawt,
den wil Er nicht verlassen.

What my God wills, let that happen always; his will, that is the best thing; he is ever willing to help those whose trust in him steadfastly. He helps those in need, the pious God, and chastises in good measure. He who trusts in God, who builds his life on Him, that person will He never forsake. (Text Erf1663, my translation)



Music text Erf1663, No.155 This tune is recommended for *Wies Gott gefellt, so gefellt mirs auch*, (No. 303) and for *Was mein Gott will* (No. 322), and is set for Becker's *Lob Gott mit Schall, ihr Heyden all* (No. 155) Composer Claudin de Sermisy 1529, sacred 1540

Setting 1



NOT in Matthaedi DTB No. 61 Peters Vol 2, No. 18

Setting 2 Johann Heinrich Kittel



Matthaedi III, p40 DTB No. 62

Setting 3

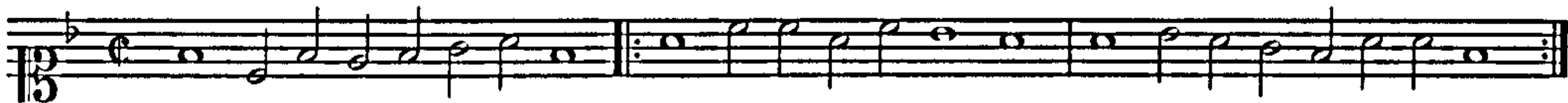


Not in DTB or Matthaei In Carus 30.650, No. 38, p 60, given as by Pachelbel

Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist

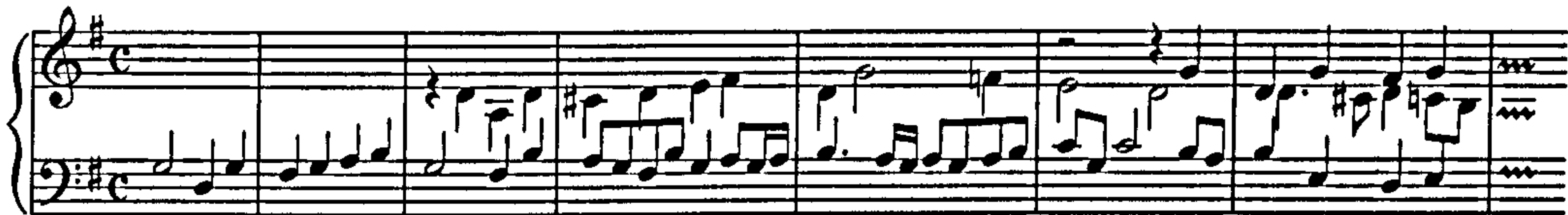
Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist
und soll hinfahren mein Strasse,
so gleit du mich, Herr Jesu Christ,
mit Hülff mich nicht verlasse,
mein Seel an meinem letzten End
befehl ich Herr in deine Händ,
du wirst sie wohl bewahren.

When my hour is at hand and my way leads to the beyond, be with me, Lord Jesus Christ, forsake me not. I commend my soul at its last hour into your hands, you will preserve me. (Text Erf1663, my translation)



Music text Erf1663, No. 330 Composer anonymous

Setting



DTB No.63 Matthaei III, p 82

Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein

Wenn wir in höchsten Nöhten seyn,
und wissen nicht wo aus noch ein,
und finden weder Hülff noch Raht,
ob wir gleich sorgen früh und spaht.

When we are in utmost distress and know not where to go, and find neither help nor advice whether we seek from morning to night, (Text Erf1663, translation Bighley, p 240)



Music text Erf1663, No. 147 Set to Becker's *Ich heb mein Augen sehn* (No. 147), this tune is recommended for No. 300 (*Wenn wir in höchsten Nöhten sein*)
Composer Guillaume Franc 1453, sacred 1567

Setting 1



Not in DTB Matthaei III, p 46

Setting 2



DTB No. 64 Matthaei III, p 48

Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern

Wie schön leuchtet der Morgen Stern,
voll Gnad und Wahrheit von dem Herrn,
die süsse Wurzel Jesse:
du Sohn Davids aus Jacobs Stamm,
mein König und mein Bräutigam,
haft mir mein Herz besessen.
Lieblich, freundlich,
schön und herrlich,
gross und ehrlich,
reich von Gaben,
hoch und sehr prächtig erhaben.

How lovely the morning star shines, full of grace and truth from the Lord, the sweet root of Jesse. You son of David from the line of Jacob, my king and my bridegroom, have possessed my heart, dearly, friendly, beautiful and glorious, great and true, rich in gifts, highly and very splendidly exalted. (Text Erf1663, translation Bighley, p 246) {Apparently the visual layout of this poem on the page is designed to resemble a chalice – hence the unusual shape of the *Abgesang*.}



Wir glauben all' an einen Gott

Wir gläuben all an einen Gott,
Schöpfer Himmels und der Erden,
der sich zum Vater gegeben hat,
daß wir seine Kinder werden;
Er will uns allzeit ernehren,
Leib und Seel auch wohl bewahren,
allem Unfall will Er wehren,
kein Leid soll uns wiederfahren,
Er sorget für uns, hüt und wacht,
er steht alles in seiner Macht.

We all believe in one God, creator of heaven and earth, who gave himself as Father so that we became his children. He will nourish us at all times, also preserve body and soul, and prevent all misfortunes. No sorrow shall come to us. He cares for us, guards and watches. All things are in his power. (Text Erf1663, translation Bighley, p 252)



Music text Erf1663, No. 170 Composer Martin Luther 1524

Setting

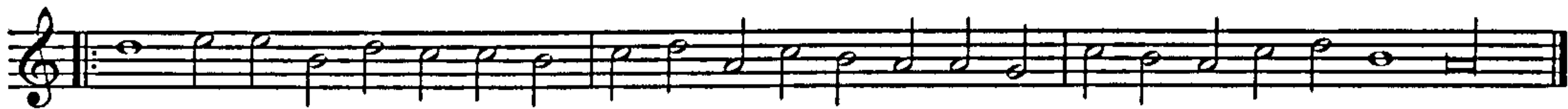


DTB No. 66 Matthaei III, p 4 Peters Volume 2, No. 19
[Perreault's citation of this piece as being in D-Bhm MS 1491 is mistaken]

Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält

Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns helt,
wenn unser Feinde toben:
Und er unser Sach nicht zufällt
im Himmel hoch dort oben.
Wo Er Israels Schutz nicht ist
und selber bricht der Feinde List,
so ists uns verlohren.

Were not the Lord on our side when our enemies rise up against us, were not our affairs considered there high in heaven, were not heaven Israel's defence when the cunning of her enemies is loosed upon her, then are we all lost. (Text Erf1662, my translation)



Music text Erf1663, No. 130 This tune is set to *Was haben doch die Leute im Sinn*, (No. 130) It is the tune recommended for No159 (*Wo Gott der Herr*) Composer anonymous 1529.

Setting 1



DTB No. 67 Not in Matthaedi Peters Volume 2, No. 20

Setting 2 J. M. Bach



DTB No. 68 Matthaedi III, p77
This organ chorale appears also in Carus 30.650, No. 23, p 52, as by J. M. Bach, and is there in G major.

Setting 3

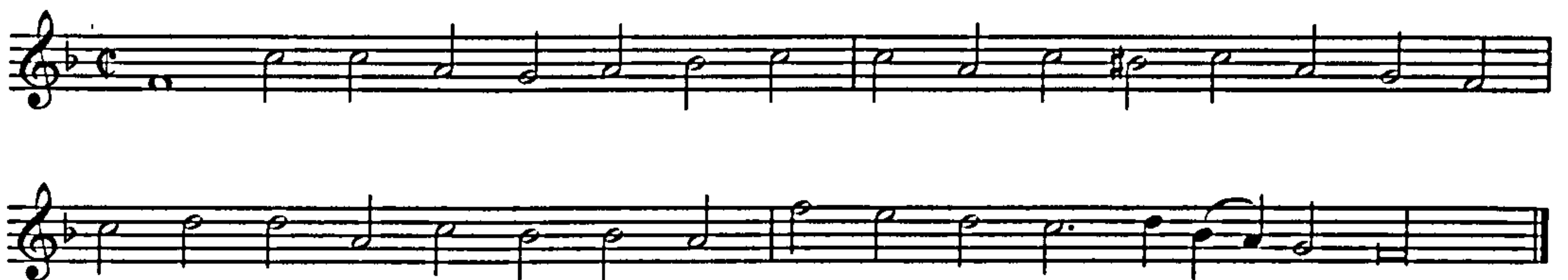


DTB No. 69 Not in Matthaedi

Wo Gott zum Haus nicht gibt sein' Gunst

Wo Gott zum Haus nicht gibt sein Gunst,
so arbeit jedermann ümbsonst,
wo Gott die Stadt nicht selbst bewacht,
so ist ümbsonst der Wächter Macht.

Except the Lord look on the house with favour, they that build it labour in vain; if God himself does not stand watch over the town, then even the strength of the watchman is of no avail. (Text Erf1663, my translation)



Music text Erf1663, No. 129 This tune is set to Becker's *Wer nicht sitzt in Gottlosen-Raht*, (No 129). It is recommended for No.160 (*Wo Gott zum Haus*)
Composer anonymous 1529.

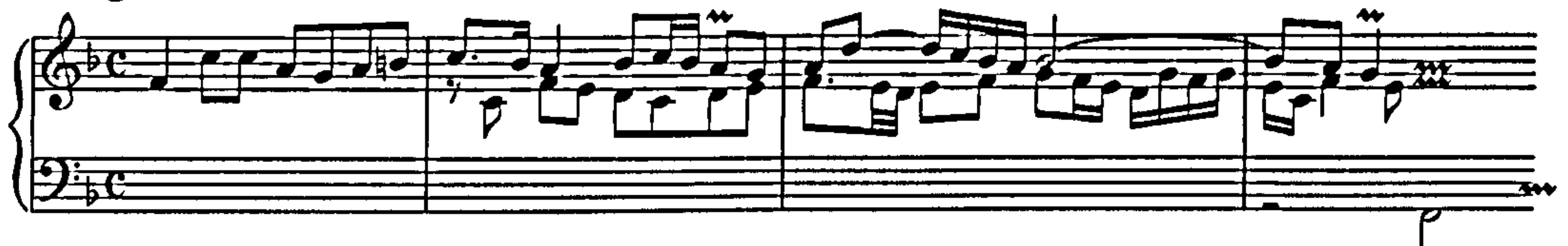
Setting 1 POP93

11/18 1.22



DTB No. 70 Matthaei III, p 35

Setting 2



DTB No. 71 Matthaei III, p36

Chorale Partitas (Variations)

Christus, der ist mein Leben

Christus, der ist mein Leben,
sterben ist mein gewinn,
dem thu ich mich ergeben,
mit freud fahr ich dahin.

Christ is my life; to die is my gain. I give myself to him; I leave for there with joy.
(Text and translation Bighley, p 274)



Music text Erf1663, No. 328 Composer Melchior Vulpus 1609

Setting with 12 variations, No 1 of *Musikalische Sterbensgedancken*
Matthaei IV, p 4

Alle menschen müssen sterben

Alle menschen müssen sterben,
alles fleisch vergeht, wie heu;
was das lebet, muss verderben,
soll es anders werden neu,
dieser leib der muss verwesen,
wann er anders soll genesen
der so grossen herrlichkeit,
die den frommen ist bereit.

All people must die, all flesh perishes like grass. That which lives must be corrupted if it is to become different, new. This body must decay if it is to be restored to the great glory which is prepared for the faithful. (Text and translation Bighley, p 30)

[Also appears as *Jesu, der du meine Seele*]



Music text Matthaei IV, p 12, Pachelbel's text for the variations Composer
Christophe Anton 1643, sacred 1681

Setting with 8 variations, No. 2 of *Musikalische Sterbensgedancken*
Matthaei, IV, p 12

Herzlich tut mich verlangen

Herzlich thut mich verlangen
nach einem selgen end,
weil ich hie bin umfange
mit trübsal und elend,
ich hab lust abzuschneiden
von diesen bösen welt,
sehn mich nach ewgen freuden,
o Jesu, komm nur bald.

I yearn from my heart for a blessed death, because I am surrounded here with sorrow and misery. I desire to depart from this evil world and long for eternal joy. O Jesus, only come soon. (Text and translation Bighley, p 128)

[Melody also set to *Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder* and *O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden*]

A chorale described as 'A song of consolation, how a Christian in death should comfort himself'



Music text Matthaei IV, p 21, Pachelbel's text for the variations

Setting with 7 variations, No. 3 of *Musicalische Sterbensgedancken*
Matthaei IV, p 21

Was Gott tut, das is wohlgetan

Was Gott thut, das ist wohl gethan,
es bleibt gerecht sein wille,
wie er fängt meine sachen an,
will ich ihm halten stille;
er ist mein Gott, der in der noth
mich wohl weis zu erhalten,
drum lass ich ihn nur walten.

What God does is done well; his will remains just. I will submit to him as he begins my things. He is my God who well knows how to support me in distress; therefore I let only him rule. (Text and translation Bighley, p 319)



Music text Matthaei IV, p 30, Pachelbel's text for the variations, not the same tune as that given in Erf1663 Composer Severus Gastorius 1675.

Setting with 9 variations, No 4 of *Musikalische Sterbensgedancken*
Matthaei IV, p 30

Ach, was soll ich Sünder machen

Ach! was soll ich Sünder machen?
ach! was soll ich fangen an,
mein gewissen klagt mich an,
es beginnet aufzuwachen;
diess ist meine zuversicht,
meinen Jesum lass ich nicht.

Oh, what shall I, a sinner, do? Oh, where should I begin? My conscience assails me, it begins to awaken. This is my confidence: I will not forsake my Jesus. (Text and translation Bighley, p 24)



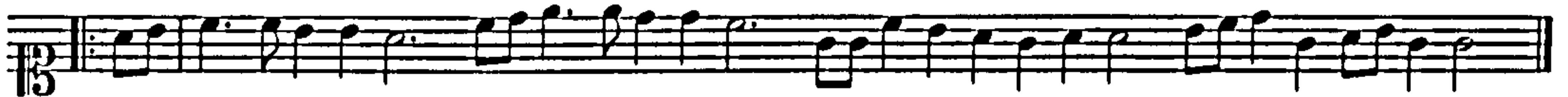
Music text Matthaei, IV, p 38, Pachelbel's text for the variations Composer
anonymous

Setting with 6 variations
Matthaei IV, p 38

Werde munter, mein Gemüte

Werde munter, mein gemüthe,
und ihr sinnen, geht herfür,
dass ihr preiset Gottes güte,
die er hat gethan an mir,
da er mich den ganzen tag
für so manche sorg und plag
hat erhalten und beschütztet,
dass mich satan nicht beschmützet.

Wake up, my heart, and come forth, you senses, so that you praise God's goodness which he as done for me, because he has supported and protected me the whole day long from many a worry and affliction so that Satan not defile me. (Text and translation Bighley, p 324)



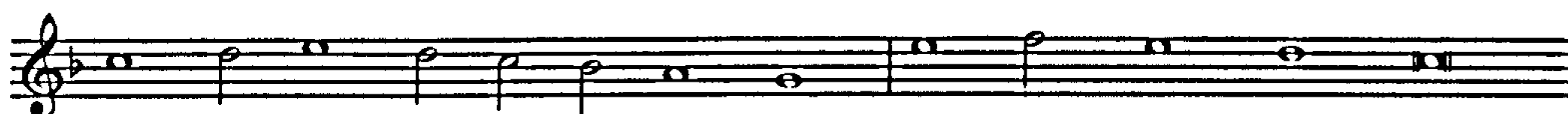
Music text Erf1663, No. 373 Composer Johann Schop 1642

Setting with 6 variations
Matthaei IV, p 44

Freu dich sehr, o meine Seele

Freu dich sehr, O meine Seele,
und vergiß all Noht und Quahl:
weil dich nun Christus dein Herre
rufft aus diesem Jammerthal:
Aus Trübsal und großem Leid
solt du fahren in die Freud
die kein Ohre je hat gehöret
und in Ewigkeit auch wäret.

Rejoice greatly, O my soul, and forget all want and suffering, because now your Lord Christ calls you out from this vale of sorrows; from tribulation and sorrow you are to go to where there is such joy as ear has never heard, and which lasts for ever. (Text Erf1663, my translation)



Music text; Erf1663, No. 140 (*Wie nach ein Wasserquelle*), given for No. 338 (*Freu dich sehr*)

Setting with 4 variations

Matthaei IV, p 48

Treuer Gott, ich muß dir klagen

Treuer Gott ich muß dir klagen
Meines herzen jammerstand
Ob dir wol sind meine plagen
Besser aus mir selbst bestandt:
Große schwachheit ich bey mir
In anfechtung oftmals spür
Dann der Satan allen glauben
Wil aus meinem herzen rauben.

:

Holy Spirit, throned in Heaven,
One with God eternally,
And the Son, for man's sins given,
Source of joy and ecstasy,
All my being is aflame
With the love of Thy great name.
Of Thy grace watch ever o'er me,
Nor withdraw Thy goodness from me.

(Text from PPM 1656, translation Terry II, App. 106, p 554)

Same tune as previous item

Setting with 4 variations (no initial chorale) is the same music text as previous item,
in Seiffert as DTB No. 72 Not in Matthaei as a separate item

Appendix 4

Two unpublished chorales

In the the critical commentary to Seiffert 1903 Seiffert lists those chorales the incipits of which he found in Ritter's *Kollektaneen*, but a complete versions of which he was unable to unearth. The chorales in question are:

- *Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein* (No. 72 in Ritter)
- *Christe du Lamm Gottes* (No. 65 in Ritter)
- *Christus, der uns selig macht* (No.71 in Ritter)
- *Wir danken dir, Herr Jesu Christ* (No. 66 in Ritter)

As well as these pieces Seiffert quotes the incipit of a setting of *Wir glauben all' an einen Gott* (No. 77 in Ritter), which piece is nevertheless complete in the manuscript. However, he remarks of it: '*Des sehr willkürlichen Schlusses wegen teile ich hier nur den Anfang mit.*'¹ Seiffert laboured under the misapprehension that complete versions of all these pieces were to be found in Weimar 1704, but such is not the case. However, beside the *Wir glauben* setting a complete version of *Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein* also exists. Both pieces are to be found in D-Bhm MS 1491. Perreault erroneously refers their appearance in this manuscript to other settings, so perhaps he did not inspect them thoroughly.

The manuscript D-Bhm MS 1491 contains beside these two items:

- *Christ lag in Todesbanden*, ascribed elsewhere to (J)HB, ascribed here as '*di Joh: Pachelbel.*'
- *In dich hab ich gehoffet, Herr* (DTB 39) ascribed here '*di Joh: Pachelbel*'
- *Ein' feste Berg* (DTB 23), ascribed here '*Joh. Pachelbel*'
- *Allein zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ* (DTB 8), *Alio modo* only, and in B-flat major, ascribed here '*Joh. Pachelbel*'.

¹ Because of its extremely arbitrary ending I give here the opening only. Seiffert 1903, p XXIV.

From this we may gather that the ascriptions in this manuscript are reasonably sound without being completely so. As regard the two chorales under consideration, *Wir glauben* is unascribed, with a pencil addition in a later hand saying ‘*J. Pachelbel*’; the manuscript of *Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein* indicates quite clearly ‘*di Pachelbel*.’

Seiffert, who perhaps did not see these last two items in this manuscript, had no difficulty in ascribing them to Pachelbel, even if he was unwilling to print them, the one because it was incomplete, the other because it finished in a way he did not comprehend. Matthaei saw both of the pieces (since it is his photograph we have of them), but seems to have passed them over in silence.

There are chorales that have just one ascription to Pachelbel that are taken to be genuine (e. g. DTB 29), and some unascribed (e. g. DTB 9, DTB 21) that we are quite happy to accept as being by Pachelbel. To ascribe the two chorales here under consideration to Pachelbel would therefore not be out of the ordinary. The question marks over these ascriptions arise, therefore, from the style of the pieces.

Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein is, as Seifferts maintains, a chorale fughetta. Two features of it would be unusual for Pachelbel. One is the sudden appearance of a sequential passage in semiquavers in bars 12 and 13, while there is generally little semiquaver movement. This is more like J. M. Bach’s work: The other anomaly is the ending that so disturbed Seiffert. Although the voice-leading throughout the piece is immaculate, from bar 24 until the end there are only three parts, and there are only two bars in the piece in which all four parts sound; the piece ends low down on the keyboard. There is nothing like this anywhere else in Pachelbel; even though the ending is not totally ineffective, it does seem strange. A possibility is that the piece is an introductory fughetta to a *cantus-firmus* setting, the second half of which has been lost. This style of fughetta, a4, but rarely letting all four parts sound until the *cantus firmus* section, is to be found in J. M. Bach’s *Auf meinen lieben Gott* (DTB 11). The missing part at the end would of course be the cantus that will come in with the melody.

Wir glauben all’ an einen Gott is a superior piece to the other. Again, it is a chorale fughetta, with its subject well and relatively extensively worked out. The voice leading is consistent, though sometimes (bars 18-22) is rather instrumental in

style, with a flowing bass line for left hand and the other three parts in homophonic chords for the right hand in a way that one does not find in Pachelbel's organ chorales. Towards the end there is a small cadenza, certainly something not found elsewhere in Pachelbel's organ chorales. There is no doubting the quality of the piece, however, and perhaps, had he seen the whole piece, Seiffert would have published it.

It seems a pity that neither piece has been published. I therefore offer a text of each, along with a copy of the manuscripts, hoping that players will be moved to play the pieces. I have my doubts as to whether either of them is really by Pachelbel, but since there are no concordances for either piece, it is impossible to offer an alternative ascription that is not complete guesswork. Perhaps 'school of Pachelbel' is a possibility.



Plate 19 Manuscript of 'Ach Gott! von Himmel sieh darein di Pachelbel', D-Bhm MS 1491, p 264.

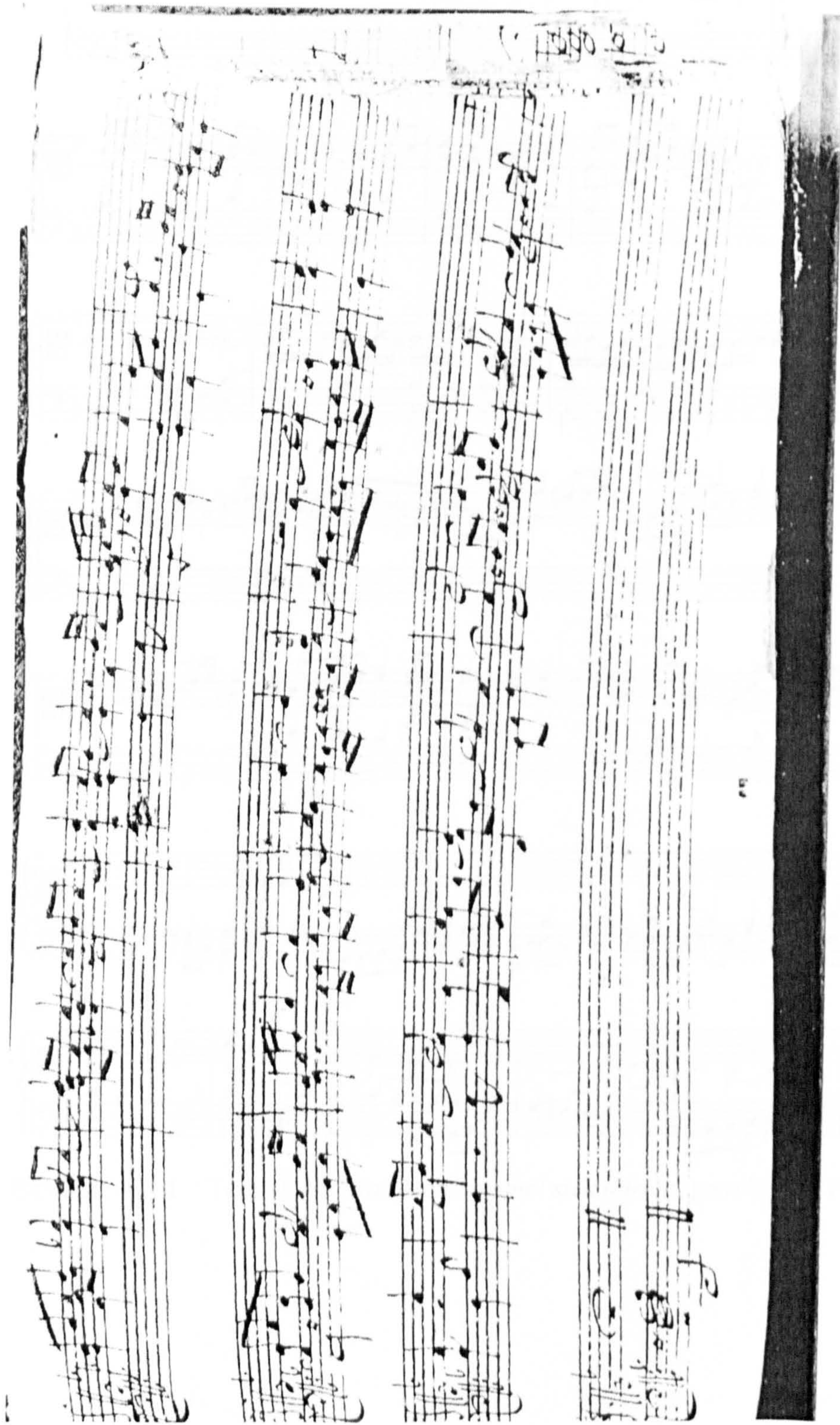


Plate 20 Manuscript of 'Ach Gott! vom Himmel sieh darein di Pachelbel', D-Bhm MS 1491, p 265.

Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein di Pachelbel

The image displays a musical score for the chorale 'Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein' by Johann Pachelbel. The score is written for a four-part vocal setting (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and a lute or guitar accompaniment. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The score is organized into seven systems, each containing a vocal line and a lute line. The lute line features a characteristic arpeggiated pattern in the right hand, while the left hand provides harmonic support with chords and single notes. The piece concludes with a final cadence in the lute line, marked with a 'P' (Piano) dynamic.

Example A.4.1 Text of *Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein*, possibly by Pachelbel.

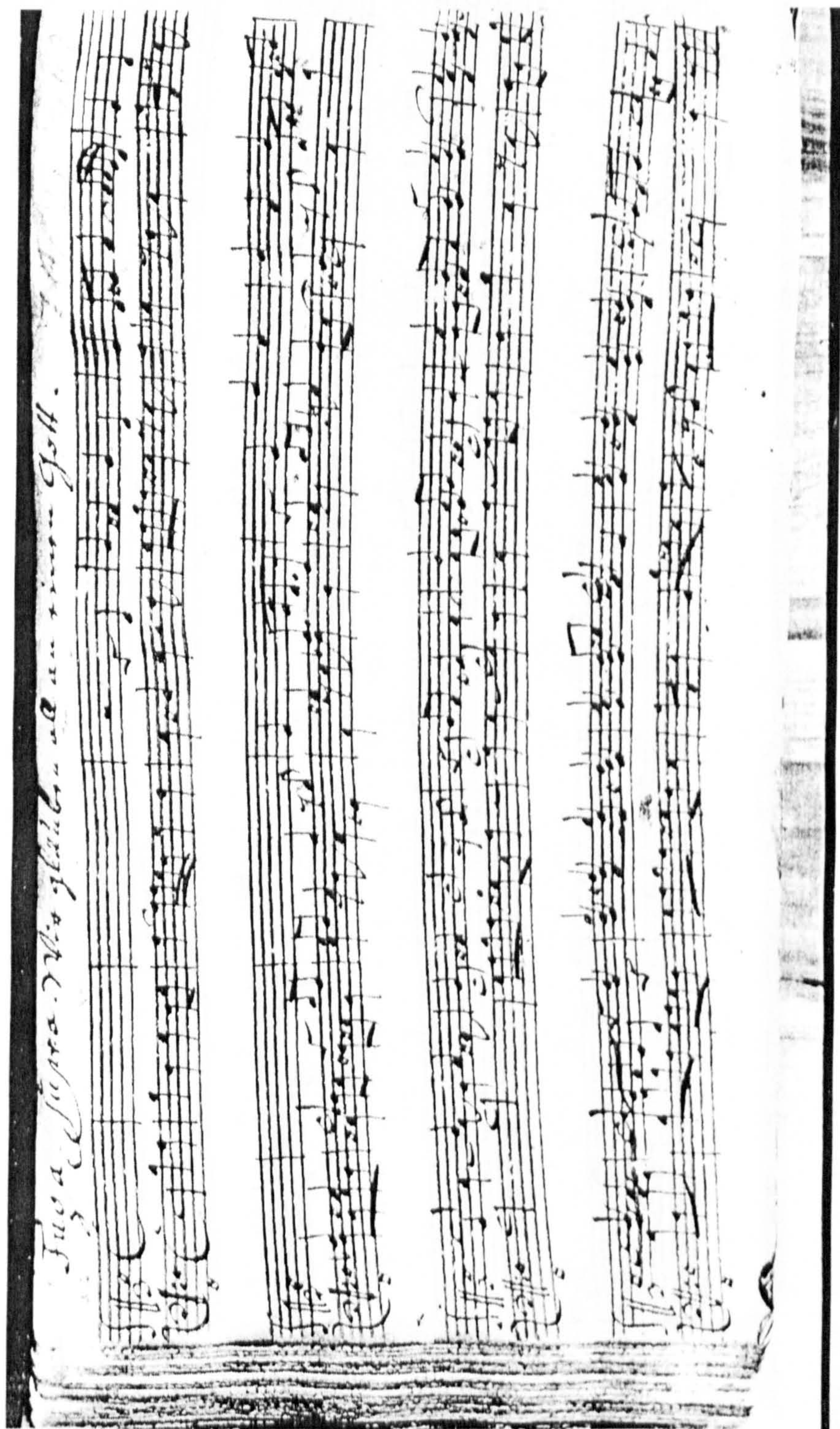


Plate 21 Manuscript of 'Fuga sopra Wir glauben all' an einen Gott', D-Bhm MS 1491, p 256.



Plate 22 Manuscript of 'Fuga sopra Wir glauben all' an einen Gott, D-Bhm MS 1491, p 257.

Fuga sopra 'Wir glauben all an einen Gott'

This musical score is for a fugue titled 'Fuga sopra "Wir glauben all an einen Gott"'. It is written for a grand piano (piano and forte dynamics are indicated) and consists of seven systems of music. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is common time (C). The score begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The first system shows the initial entry of the fugue theme in the treble clef, with the bass clef providing a harmonic accompaniment. The second system continues the development of the theme, with the treble clef playing a more active role. The third system shows the theme being taken up by the bass clef, with the treble clef providing a harmonic accompaniment. The fourth system continues the development of the theme, with the bass clef playing a more active role. The fifth system shows the theme being taken up by the treble clef, with the bass clef providing a harmonic accompaniment. The sixth system continues the development of the theme, with the treble clef playing a more active role. The seventh system shows the final entry of the fugue theme in the treble clef, with the bass clef providing a harmonic accompaniment. The score is written in a clear, legible style, with notes and rests clearly marked. The overall structure of the fugue is typical of the Baroque era, with a clear theme and a series of imitations.



Example A 4.2 Text of *Wir glauben all' an einen Gott*, possibly by Pachelbel.

Appendix 5

Extended footnotes to various parts of the text.

Page 19, footnote 32

Pietism, a movement within Lutheranism, was at its apogee during Pachelbel's lifetime. The movement sought to place the emphasis on how the Christian lived his life, whereas the 'orthodox' Lutheran was concerned more with a Christian's knowledge of doctrine. For the orthodox, the sinner is justified through God's grace, doctrine is almost as important as scripture, and God can only be known through 'intellectual' knowledge. For the pietist, however, justification must lead to a new, holy life characterised by good works, scripture is paramount, while doctrine is merely a passing view of spiritual reality that may or may not be true, and knowledge of God comes through the experience of direct union with the Holy Spirit. McMullen encapsulates these differences by quoting Francke's words about his spiritual state before his 'conversion':

I kept my theology in my head and not in my heart, and it was much more a dead science than a living knowledge. I knew to be certain how to say well what is faith, regeneration, justification, renewal and all the rest, but of them all there existed nothing in my heart.

McMullen's thesis is that the conflict between the orthodox and the pietists was played out in the controversy over Freylinghausen's Hymn Book (published first in 1704 [this date according to Blume 1965, p 175]). A snapshot view of this controversy might be that the orthodox were intellectual, lived their faith in their head and realised it through high-flown intellectual arguments in their sermons, surrounded by the full panoply of the musically decorated Lutheran liturgy, while the pietists were emotional, lived their faith in their hearts and realised this in what could be described as good works. The orthodox had a vested interest in the authority of the church, its organisation, doctrines and liturgy. Their music reflected this, in that it was concerned with the celebration of doctrine through liturgy and the musical

embellishment of that liturgy. The pietists thought that these things were ephemeral and that compassion and 'unstructured' direct experience of God were fundamental; their music also reflected that, in that it was concerned with an emotional response to the rigours of everyday living and what could be described as spiritual enthusiasm.

(Diane McMullan, *The Geistreiches Gesangbuch of Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen (1670-1739): A German Pietist Hymnal*, Chapter 6, pp 216-227.)

While many orthodox hymns sentimentalise the relationship between Christ and the Christian, much of the hymnody of the pietists depicts this relationship as overtly erotic. A hymn called '*Die lieblichen Blicke*' [Tender Glances – *Freylinghausen Gesangbuch* No. 453] makes this eroticism very plain;

My breast experiences a divine fire.
I cry for joy and wish always to feel desire.
Such suffering is in my heart.
O sweet pain! How you carry me away.
Oh! I do not know how it happens to me.

This yearning for Christ, doubtless a symbol of the seeking for the Holy Spirit, is also frequently presented in terms of eschewing the world:

*Nun will ich mich scheiden von allen Dingen
und mich zu meinem G'liebten schwingen,
den ich allein mir hab' erkiest.
Nichts kann in Himmel und auf Erden
Gefunden und genennet werden,
Das Er mir selbst nicht alles ist.*

[Now I will separate myself from everything and turn to my Beloved, whom I alone have chosen for myself. There is nothing in Heaven or earth that can be compared with what he means to me.]

It is perhaps ironic that a movement such as pietism that set such store by involvement in the world should embrace the rejection of it and our exit from it so enthusiastically. But dying a good death was indeed a part of the orthodox Lutheran ethos. While many 'funeral' hymns welcome death as a release from the insubstantiality of life here (*Alle Menschen müssen sterben; Die Herrlichkeit der Erden muß Rauch und Asche werden; Ach wie flüchtig, ach wie nichtig*), the enthusiasm for death which is encapsulated in other well known hymns (*Christus, der ist mein Leben; Valet will ich dir geben; Freu dich sehr, O meine Seele;*) goes

well beyond the simple ‘manly’ acceptance of it as reflected in *Ich hab’ mein’ Sach’ Gott heimgestellt; Mitten wir in Leben sind; Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin; O Welt, ich muß dich lassen; Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist*. This enthusiasm for death can become morbid in even such orthodox hymns as *O Ewigkeit, du Freudenwort*.

McMullen prints with her thesis the 1716 *Wittenberg Bedencken*, a rebuttal on doctrinal grounds of many of the hymns in Freylinghausen’s book. This rebuttal expresses both doctrinal and aesthetic misgivings that the Wittenberg faculty had about the book; 6/8 dance-like tunes are particularly criticised. Blume (Blume 1965, p 175) maintains that the musical quality of the hymns went down because the attempt was made to fit words to secular tunes, especially French opera tunes, doubtless in a bid for ‘popularity, ‘relevance’, ‘accessibility’, or whatever. There is a certain irony in this, in that earlier in the seventeenth century it had been the pietists who had championed the ‘traditional’ chorales against the ‘new-fangled’ Italian style of figural music. Indeed, their objection later in the century to ‘the present manner of concertising’, by which is meant the Italian style of singing involving extempore embellishments [Ahle, *Kurze doch deutliche Anleitung usw.*, 1704, quoted in John Butt, *Music Education and the art of performance in the German Baroque*, Cambridge, 1994, p 138], fits ill with their espousal of ‘tunes from the operas’ to sing their hymns to. (Butt *ibid*, p 27) From the choice that Pachelbel made of which hymns to set it seems that the ecclesiastical authorities in Nürnberg were firmly on the side of orthodoxy. Nevertheless there was a plentiful supply of pietistic hymns in Nbg1690.

Page 46, footnote 5

Luther’s orders of service for Mass

<i>Formulae Missae</i>	<i>Deudsche Messe und ordnung Gottis dienst</i>
Introit [= a whole Psalm, no antiphon or <i>Gloria Dei</i>]	Hymn or German Psalm 34 in the first Tone

<i>Kyrie</i> – Nine fold (<i>Gloria</i> optional)	<i>Kyrie</i> (threefold) set to the First Psalm Tone
Collect (one only) and Epistle	Collect (monotone) and Epistle in the Eighth Tone
Gradual and/or <i>Alleluia</i> (no tracts or omissions of the <i>Alleluia</i> during Lent) Sequences are omitted except at Christmas, Pentecost and Whitsuntide	Hymn: <i>Nun bitten wir</i> or any other
Gospel	Gospel in the Fifth Tone
<i>Credo</i> , to be followed by the sermon; the homily might also precede the Introit	German <i>Credo</i> paraphrase: <i>Wir glauben</i> <i>all</i> , followed by the sermon
Order for Communion: a. Preparation of the bread and wine b. Versicles and Responses, <i>Sursum</i> <i>corda</i> and Preface c. Words of institution (preferably intoned) d. <i>Sanctus</i> (the elevation to be performed during the singing of the <i>Benedictus</i>) e. Lord's Prayer, <i>Pax</i> f. <i>Agnus Dei</i> (during the administration) g. Communion (optional) and prayer, <i>Benedicamus Domino</i> with optional <i>Alleluia</i> in place of the traditional <i>Ite</i> <i>missa est</i>	The Order for Communion a. Paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer and admonition for those about to receive the sacrament b. Office and Consecration (Words of Institution) c. German <i>Sanctus</i> paraphrase: <i>Jesaja</i> <i>dem Propheten</i> or the hymns <i>Gott sei</i> <i>gelobt</i> or <i>Jesus Christus, unser Heiland</i> d. German <i>Agnus Dei</i> paraphrase: <i>Christe, du Lamm Gottes</i> (optional) or the remainder of the <i>Sanctus</i> Hymns (c.) during the administration
h. Benediction	e. Collect and Benediction

Page 46, footnote 6

Luther was determined to keep the Roman form of the Mass, fearing that if this were lost worship would degenerate into formlessness and meaninglessness, and that the Lutheran church would seem a mere sect. These fears proved well founded. The Reformed church, much less insistent on liturgy than the Lutheran, soon splintered into many sects, and while the Romans could see that the Lutheran church was an organisation that might possibly be brought back into communion with themselves, they could never view the Reformed church in the same light. Further, Luther had a very genuine desire that the spiritual unity of the whole church should be maintained even in outward disintegration, and that this unity with respect to the Roman Catholic Church could only be maintained through the universality of the acts of worship employed. In his anxiety that the Mass should be a unity he insisted that whichever German hymns were sung should fit into this unity. In the beginning this meant that the number of possible hymns was very small. Hence the stipulation in the orders for specific hymns and the ubiquity of *Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist*.

Page 57, footnote 41

Luther's views on the organ seem somewhat contradictory. Although he sometimes seems somewhat dismissive of it, he was not against it in principle. While he praises the singing of some miller's boy as having more of true belief about it than all the panoply of priests, monks with their organs and such-like conjuring tricks (Rietschel 1892, p 38) he was nevertheless aware of the potential of the organ, recognising and admiring the quality of the evangelical organist Wolff Heintz (Blume 1965, p 64). Even so the organ and, more especially, its task in the services, are not much mentioned in the *Kirchenordnungen*. Indeed, if mentioned at all it is disparaged rather dismissively in sentiments like 'if there is an organ' (and often there was not) it shouldn't get in the way of the congregation's singing ('*sondern derselben ihre Zeit lassen, ihr Gesang mit gemeiner Stimme und Andacht zu verrichten.*' ['..but these {the congregation} should have time to perform their singing with a unified voice, and in a prayerful manner.']) (Straßburg

Kirchenordnung, 1598); ‘*damit die Laien Zeit haben, da mit deutschem Gesange Christum zu loben.*’ [‘...so that the congregation have time to praise Christ there with German hymns.’] (Hildesheim, 1544); (all this is in Rietschel 1892, p 26). Organ music was a side issue, an adiaphora, and if the issue of organ music was not that important, equally unimportant was the status of the organist. Hildesheim in 1544 had only one organist for four churches, whose chief job was to accompany the boys [the choir] in whichever church they were singing (Rietschel, p 26); the organist was appointed ‘*zu Ehren und zum Dienste der Kunst Musica, sonderlich wenn unsere Kinder in figurativis singen, in etlichen Kirchen....*’ [‘...for the honour and the service of the art of music, especially when our schoolchildren are singing figural music, in the several churches..... ‘]. (*ibid.*) The organist was expected to earn his living by doing other things than playing the organ for the church, even if it was necessary to pay him something so that he did not starve: ‘*Organisten sollen in großen Städten gehalten werden und ehrlich besoldet, zu Ehren Musik, damit sie nicht untergehen.*’ [Organists should be retained in large towns and honestly remunerated, for the honour of music, and so that they don’t starve.’] (Pomeranian *Kirchenordnung*, 1535.) (Rietschel, p 26.)

Why was there this antipathy towards the organ? Part of the reason was that the organ had been misused during pre-Reformation times. Substituting it for singers had either led to an improper shortening of the service, or to the inordinate lengthening of it. But there were more cogent and principled objections to it also. Chief among these was the objection to the introduction of ‘worldly’ tunes into the service, and the rendering of tunes in a frivolous manner. The evangelical organists were particularly at risk of doing these things because so many chorale tunes had originally been secular melodies. Allied to this was the problem that there was not much sacred music written for the organ, so that when organists were expected to play something solo they had to improvise, either literally, or in the sense of making do with music that was not really suitable. Objections of the time focus particularly on the playing of dance music in church, because much secular organ music was dance music, and dancing seems to have been viewed as a suspect activity by all shades of theological opinion. Another problem was the practice of ‘coloration’; when an organist played *alternatim* he would play the hymn being sung, most simply the accompaniment he

had just used; a literal repeat was obviously tedious to the bolder spirits amongst players and listeners, so, there being very few ‘organ chorales’ as yet, players embellished melodies extempore, in a style suited to the keyboard. This was objected to both on the grounds that it was unseemly, and also that it disguised the melody so decorated, making it difficult to recognise, and to sing to if this technique were employed while accompanying (Rietschel 1892, p 38). This brings us on to a perhaps more profound objection, that organ music, and instrumental music in general, disguised or obscured the words, which were the fundamental element in the equation, or, worse still, caused them to be left out altogether (Rietschel 1892, p 11). Krüger (Krüger 1933, p 113) cites the *Aepinische Kirchenordnung*, which states that verses may not be left out, and that organ *alternatim* verses were an extra. Indeed, the use of the organ which brought with it the omission of words was in many specific instances forbidden; thus Rietschel cites a number of *Kirchenordnungen* where it was forbidden to play the organ for the Creed (Rietschel 1892, p 36, citing *Kirchenordnungen* from Schleswig-Holstein [1542]; Braunschweig-Lüneberg [1564, 1619]; Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, 1615]). Some authorities went further; the 1542 Schleswig-Holstein *Kirchenordnung*, besides prohibiting the organ for the Creed, does so also for the *Allein Gott* part of the *Gloria*. After the priest has intoned the *Gloria* it is the choir and not the organ that replies ‘*Et in terra pax*’, after which, instead of going on *alternatim* between choir and organ with the Latin *Gloria*, the hymn, *Allein Gott in der Höh’ sei Ehr* is to be sung complete to the end without the organ, upon which the Latin is resumed. This shows clearly the distinction between choir and organ *alternatim* and unaccompanied *choraliter* congregational singing.

Rietschel draws attention to the remarkable argument following the proposal of the Fürst Johann Georg von Anhalt-Sachsen to remove all the trappings of church ceremony, besides surplices, images and crucifixes also the organ, and indeed all the hymnody except the Psalms. This proposal was countered by a number of the aristocrats, and resulted in a high-flown theological debate with the theological faculty at Wittenberg. (Rietschel 1892, pp 38-39.) The pamphlet issued by the opposition states, in defence of the use of the organ; ‘It is allowable for someone to play the organ or have it played, just so long as the intention is not to impede the conduct of the right and true devotional service by for instance playing voluptuous,

lascivious, trivial dance movements instead of a devotional Psalm.’ (Rietschel, p 39; ‘*Es mag ihm ein jeder auf seiner Orgeln selbst spielen, oder andere spielen lassen, so lange er will, wenn nur der rechte, wahre, innerliche Gottesdienst nicht darauf verhindert, und etwa für einen geistlichen Psalm ein üppiger, leichfertiger, überfleischlicher Tanz oder Passamezza gespielt wird.*’) Arguments against the organ cited Luther’s opinion, vouchsafed doubtless in an unguarded moment that altars, crucifixes, images, vestments, candles and also organs all belonged to the idolatrous banners of the Baal that was Rome, while opinions in favour cited both 1. Corinthians 14 and Psalm 150, approving the singing of Psalms with instrumental accompaniment to the glory of God. Nonetheless organs were much in use; Schweitzer has already been cited saying that ‘the pretensions [of the organ were] increasing everywhere, in spite of all ordinances.’ The 1598 Straßburg *Kirchenordnung* stipulates that the organ shall start the service (if there is no organ, then the singers are to do it), but the organist is to play only during sung items (‘*vor und unter der Gesänge*’), and may only play what is being sung. His chief job is to accompany the figural singing. (Rietschel 1892, p 29-30.) This is much the pattern that has been seen from earlier in the century, but the advent of the *Kantionalen* was to change that.

It is interesting that Feuerlein still felt it necessary to defend the use of the organ on theological or biblical grounds as late as 1691. (Feuerlein 1696)

Page 62, footnote 53

The 1625 order of service for the castle church in Liegnitz specifies the German hymns to be used for each service throughout the year, even down to the setting, which is always by Gesius. Liliencron comments on this by saying apropos ‘*Menschenkind merck eben, a 4, Gesii cum organo*’, set for Advent 1, that this means; ‘*Mich. Weisses Lied, 15 Strophen, in vierstimmig Satz von Gesius, Chor und Orgel, sicherlich mit begleitenden Gemeindegesang.*’ [Michael Weiße’s hymn, fifteen verses, in the four-part setting by Gesius, choir and organ, assuredly with the congregation’s taking part.] He thus sees the rubric as specifying the cantional setting sung by choir and organ *alternatim*, with the congregation joining in somehow almost as an afterthought. There could of course be other interpretations of this

rubric. The order for Vespers (*Preces Vespertinae Figuralis*) specifies (again Gesius' settings of) *Nun Komm der Heiden Heiland* and *Gottes Sohn ist kommen* 'cum organo', which Liliencron interprets as meaning being performed by the choir and organ; perhaps, even though there is a *de tempore* German song, 'played and sung at the same time', at the end, there was no congregation at Vespers. Even so, Liliencron's idea of an *alternatim* performance between choir and organ using a *Kantional*-style setting is clear. (Liliencron 1893, p 124) Rietschel also sees Osiander's settings as figural music in which the congregation takes part: '*Der Gemeindegesang lehnte sich an den mehrstimmigen Chor mit der Melodie in der Oberstimme an.*' ['The congregational singing follows the example of {leans on/is supported by?} the choir singing in parts, with the melody in the cantus.' {But does *sich anlehnen* mean here 'to lean on' or 'to follow the example of'?}] (Rietschel 1892, p 47). Osiander himself did not perhaps see his music as figural; more likely he thought of figural music as being part of the problem and intended not to write such music, even if with an uneasy conscience. In the Preface to his *Kantional* he says; 'I do not doubt, however, that there will be some composers and musicians who at first will certainly not be pleased with my insignificant work.' (Quotation from Osiander's Preface to his *Kantional*, as in Schuler, Louis Eugene, *Lucas Osiander and his 'Fünffzig Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen' : The Development and Use of the First Cantional*, Ph. D., St. Louis, Missouri, 1986, p 67). He goes on to excuse his placing of the tune in the cantus, of writing in four parts only, and his somewhat simplistic part writing, employed in order to use mostly root-position harmonies and to make the parts easy to learn for the children. Schweitzer's imputation of a motive to Osiander, that he was anxious to reconcile art-song and popular singing, seems wide of the mark, though it was certainly the motive of some of the later writers of *Kantionalen*, and it was doubtless these musicians that Osiander, who was himself not a professional musician, had in mind in his exculpation.

Page 193, footnote 42

The history of the elaboration of contrapuntal lines in a polyphonic keyboard piece veers between the instrumental and the vocal. Agricola's statement that all instrumentalists should learn how to decorate their performance the way organists do

(1528 – quoted in Howard Mayer Brown, *Embellishing 16th-Century Music*, Oxford, 1976, p 1) suggests that the *Colorieren* that was part of the organist's art had some primacy in the field. Byrd's achievement was the incorporation of keyboard instrumental figuration into a 'vocal' polyphonic texture; Sweelinck's was a reordering of that polyphony along stricter lines while still including and extending keyboard figurations. Scheidemann veered more towards vocal-style embellishments, though his bass lines were still in the style of the virginalists. (Breig 1978, p 32) Kurtzmann points out that 'until the late sixteenth century there was no real distinction between vocal and instrumental ornamentation; in fact, instrumentalists were often advised to imitate the voice as closely as possible.' (Jeffrey Kurtzmann, *The Monteverdi Vespers of 1610; Music, Context, Performance*, Oxford, 1999, p 467) Brown says much the same. (Brown 1976, p xii)

There was a degree of congruence between vocal and instrumental style in certain of Monteverdi's musical styles; his violin and wind parts in his choral works often imitated vocal lines directly. Who is to say whether this style is vocal or instrumental? In his most intensely vocal style, the monodic recitative, he demands in this 'singing speech' (according to Anna Maria Vacchelli, *Performing Practice in Monteverdi's Music; The Historic-Philological Background*, Cremona, 1995, p 44) a complete abjuration of extempore embellishment, since he is careful to write in the ornaments he requires. But later composers and theorists saw the recitative style as one that lent itself to extempore embellishment.

Bartels (Bartels 1989, pp170 foll) strongly suggests that in the early Baroque period [?in Germany] there was a clear distinction between on the one hand a style of embellishment found in music for keyboard instruments and plucked instruments that was idiomatic for those instruments, having been current for a long time; and on the other hand a style for instruments such as the Zink, violin and flute, derived more recently from vocal techniques. [*Die instrumentenspezifischen Verzierung der Tasteninstrumente werden auch im Frühbarock weiterhin von der vokalen Diminution getrennt betrachtet* – p 177;*Tasten- und Zupfinstrumenten, die seit länger Zeit schon instrument-typische Kolorierungen zur Eigenart ihrer Spielweise zählen* – p 176. Bartels cites Crüger (1630) and Herbst 1658 in support of

ornamentation practices in violin, cornet and flute music being in the Italian manner {‘*auffiezige Italienische Manier*’} – p 176.]

Scheidt’s embellishments brought in the phrase ‘*Imitatio violistica*’, which might seem to be the first step towards the thoroughgoing incorporation of a string style into organ counterpoint. But see footnote 50 on page 201. Buxtehude’s solo lines in his organ chorales are very much in the tradition of operatic ornamentation, though his counterpoint in the free-standing pieces is more akin to the instrumental. Bach was the master of all possibilities, although his ‘bread-and-butter’ organ counterpoint is thoroughly instrumental and string-based; nevertheless, if his demands on the voices in his vocal works seem to be instrumental in the highest degree, they actually represent the culmination of a tradition of vocal elaboration that I shall discuss later.

Page 255, footnote 135.

Seiffert left out from his DTB edition two items that later came to be regarded as part of the canon, besides the two pieces that I print in Appendix 3. They are: *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein* (Matthaei III, p 46), and *Herr Jesu Christ, ich weiß gar wohl* (Matthaei, III, p 28). The omission of *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein* presents a certain mystery. Perreault, in his main text, lists it as being in D-B Mus Ms 30245, p. 45, but it is not to be found there in his listing in the appendix, either in this manuscript or in its copy, D-B Mus Ms P. 806. It is, however, in the manuscript, and was photographed by Matthaei, who cites it as being in Ms 30245, on p. 45. There is a pencil attribution to Pachelbel in Seiffert’s hand in the photograph of this page, and underneath, in brackets, ‘*ungedrückt*’ [not printed]. Quite why Seiffert, who was after all trying to present a complete edition, should have left out this piece is not clear. Perhaps, despite his attribution of the piece to Pachelbel, he doubted its authenticity. It must be conceded that the piece, as a three-part accompaniment-type chorale, is almost unique to Pachelbel’s output. *Herr Jesu Christ, ich weiß gar wohl*, as will be explained later, was thought to be by Walther, and Seiffert printed it in his complete edition of Walther’s works. Later he relented and included it as an additional item in his Pachelbel volumes.

Matthaei's edition never claimed to be complete, so the works that he left out may have been on grounds of his personal taste. Nevertheless, there is a considerable number of chorales that were in DTB which he left out from his edition. They are:

- *Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein* (DTB 2) [in Scheurleer only];
- *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* (DTB 9) [in Plauener, Scheurleer, and in Seiffert, but not MS 398];
- *Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht* (DTB 12) [fughetta only in R-Kau, complete in Neumeister];
- *Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt* (DTB 17) [in Plauener only];
- *Durch Adams Fall* (DTB 20) [in many sources];
- *Durch Adams Fall* (DTB 21) [in Scheurleer only];
- *Erbarm dich mein* (DTB 24) [in R-Kau only];
- *Erhalt uns Herr* (DTB 25) [in Plauener and Scheurleer, and two other MSS of lesser significance in Berlin] (chorale probably by Böhm);
- *Es spricht der Unweisen* (DTB26) [in Plauener] (chorale definitely by Scheidemann);
- *Herr Gott, dich loben alle wir* (DTB 35) [in Seiffert 398 only];
- *Ich ruf zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ* (DTB 38) [in Seiffert, not 398, only];
- *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der den Tod* (DTB 41) [in Seiffert 398 only];
- *Kommt her zu mir* (DTB 45) [in Seiffert 398 only];
- *Lob sei Gott* (DTB 46) [in Seiffert 398 only]; *Vater unser im Himmelreich* (DTB 56) In Seiffert, not MS 398
- *Vater unser im Himmelreich* (DTB56) [in Seiffert, not 398, and an Einzelblatt]
- *Was mein Gott will* (DTB 61) [in Seiffert, not 398, only];
- *Wo Gott der Herr* (DTB 67) [in Seiffert 398 only];
- *Wo Gott der Herr* (DTB 69) [in Seiffert, not 398, Scheurleer; the chorale only in R-Kau]

All this is very interesting. In this list there is one class of piece that Matthaei did not see a manuscript source for, so perhaps he left these pieces out for this reason. So, since he saw neither the Scheurleer MS nor the *Plauener Orgelbuch*, he felt uncertain about including DTB 2, 17 or 21, all of which are unique to those MSS. A

second group consists of those pieces the authenticity of which he doubted. Thus although he did see R-Kau, he excluded two piece that are in it, works that are unique to it (in his eyes, since he didn't see Neumeister), DTB 12 and 24, though there again maybe he left them out because he thought they were incomplete (which they are). The Böhm and Scheidemann works Matthaei presumably also excluded because he felt them to be inauthentic.

A third group consists of those pieces that are in Seiffert's papers, unique to them, but only in MS Pa. 398. I would surmise that DTB 35, 41, 45, 46 and 67 (all unique to Pa. 398) were not seen by Matthaei. Why he was able to see the separate items from Seiffert's papers and not this manuscript is unclear. Unclear also is why those chorales that are in Seiffert's other manuscripts, those without a signature, that were left out are omitted. Thus DTB 9 (admittedly also in Plauener and Scheurleer, but Matthaei saw neither of these), 38, 56, 61, 69, none of which occurs in MS Pa. 398, but all of which are in the other collection without a designation in the Seiffert papers, were all left out by Matthaei. We know he photographed them all, since we have the photographs at Wintherthur. Perhaps after all is said and done, Matthaei's edition was only a selection, and he chose to leave out these and other works for reasons of personal preference. Although there are no ascriptions in Ritter's manuscript collection, the authenticity of all of them (except *Auf meinen lieben Gott*) is not in doubt.

Finally, the omission of the *bicinium Durch Adams Fall* (DTB 20) is a mystery too, since it occurs in three other MSS (Perreault cites four, though I can't find one of his references; the others are: an *Einzelblatt*; one sheet of a collection in a folio; and a copy in a manuscript that seems to have no provenance). Perhaps Matthaei did not see any of these MSS either, or else he chose to leave this one out again for reasons of personal preference.

Matthaei must have known about all these works, since they were published by Seiffert, who also gave details of sources in his edition. Why he did not follow up more vigorously these sources remains a mystery.

All of the above is of course pure speculation.

Extract from a letter from J. G. Walther to Heinrich Bokemeyer of Wolfenbüttel, dated 6. 8. 1729.

.....] Bey Gelegenheit bitte dem Herrn Hurlebusch für die dißfalls gehabte Bemühung, *meo nomine*, ergebensten Danck zu sagen, und Selbigem meiner Gegendienste zu vesichern, als wozu mir nur Gelegenheit ausbitte. Anlangend dieses *judicieusen* Mannes ausgesonnene *invention*, jemandem dergestalt abzurichten: daß er *ex tempore praeludieren*, und insonderheit die Kirchen-Gesänge auf vielerley art *variiren* könne; muß bekennen: daß solche mir, dem seel. H Pachelbel zu vernehmen, höchst angenehm gewesen, und eine große Begierde bey mir erwecket hat, >den *modum* zu wissen<. Solte dieser sich aufs Papier hinlänglich entwerffen laßen, wolte ergebenst um deßen *communication*, und zwar gegen dankbarliche Erlegung eines dißfalls dafür zu zahlenden beliebigen *Honorarii*, bitten; weil mich nicht schäme (jedoch *sub rosa*) zu melden: daß diesen Punckt, ohneracht selbigem zum öfteren auch nachgedacht habe, dennoch nicht erreichen kan, sondern mich mit der Wißenschafft der *Composition*, und dem daher entstehenden Vermögen, etwas reelles aufzusetzen, begnügne laßen muß, da denn schon weiß, wie theuer mir die Elle zu stehen kommt; da aber diese *invention* die *Composition* übersteigt, und nothwendig dabey leichter zu fahren ist, überdiß auch mein jüngster 14jähriger Sohn ungemeine Lust, ingleich eine gute Fähigkeit zum Clavier-Spielen von sich spühren läßet, sage nochmals, daßmich nich schäme noch etwas selbst zu erlernen, denn: *non omnia possamus omnes*, und sodann diese nützliche *invention* nurgedachtem Knaben zu gönnen. Ich will also diese Ansinnen Meines Herren *prudence* überlaßen, und, nebst Verschweigung mienes Nahmes, Sie ersuchen, sich um diese *invention* bey dem Herrn Besitzer derselben zu bewerben, in Hoffnung, der H. *Inventor* werde sich, da Er sie andern, und insonderheit einen Nürnbergischen Kauffmanne ehemals schon gedacht, gerne dafür zahlen was gefordert werden mögte, oder aud andere Weise, wie es beliebig, mich *revenchiren*. Nun bitte nochmals, *sub silentio* und ohne mich zu nennen, hierinnen zu verfahren, weil leichtlich ein Mißbrauch daraus entstehen könnte. [.....

Translation:

[.....] When you have the opportunity, please, give, in my name, most sincere thanks to Mr. Hurlebusch, and assure him that I will return the favour, he has only to ask. With regard to the ability of this most accomplished man to teach someone to do what he can do, that is to be able to play preludes extempore, and especially to play variations on hymns, I must confess, that hearing such things done causes me the greatest delight, just as it did the late H. Pachelbel, and has awoken in me a great desire to know 'how it is done'. If anything about these methods has been put down on paper sufficiently clearly enough to be of any use, I would most sincerely like to put in a bid for such a communication, and moreover would gratefully pay any appropriate amount of money for it; because I am not ashamed to admit (even if *sub rosa*), that in this matter, despite having given it my consideration many times, I have nevertheless been unable to get to the stage of working out what needs to be done, and have had to content myself with the science of composition, and the reward that that brings of being able to write down something *substantial*, considering the high standards I set myself. Even so this art of extemporising is of more significance than composition, and of necessity less onerous an activity, and moreover even my fourteen-year-old youngest son is showing uncommon keenness and showing promise of good keyboard skills, so I say again, that I am not ashamed to learn something new, since one can't be the master of everything, and therefore I would not grudge the aforementioned lad this useful skill of improvising. I would urge circumspection on you, however, regarding this matter, and along with keeping silent about my identity, ask that you try and obtain for me from the owner the said treatise on extemporising, in the hope that the composer will not refuse this, since he has already passed it on to other people, in particular to a merchant from Nuremberg. I am very happy, as already mentioned, to pay whatever might be demanded, or to return the favour in whatever other way would suit him. Only, please, once again, keep it under your hat, and don't mention that it's me who is behind all this, because it's so easy for this knowledge to be open to abuse.

Page 287, footnote 1

There is a delightful recording, MOTETTE CD 13111, of the organ in St. Michael's Church, Erfurt (originally the University Church), which was built in 1652 by Ludwig Compenius. The original (and present) disposition of the organ is:

The organ in St. Michael's Church, Erfurt
1652/2000

<u>Hauptwerk</u> (C, D-f ³)	<u>Rückpositiv</u> (C,C,-f ³)
Principal 8	Gedackt 8
Rohrflöte 8	Principal 4
Octave 4	Rohrflöte 4
Octave 2	Octave 2
Mixtur 3Fach	Sesquialtera
	Zymbel 2 Fach
	Krummhorn 8
<u>Pedal</u> (C,D-d ¹)	Manuelschiebekoppel
Subbaß 16	Pedalkoppel I
Octavbaß 8	Tremulanten für Kalkantenruf
Posaunenbaß 16	

This organ represents the ‘minimum’, if you like, of a *Werkprinzip* instrument, but has a kind of perfection. The principal chorus, based on the eight-foot principal, is ‘complete’ on the *Hauptwerk*, but there is nothing else there except the one flute stop, to act as accompaniment for the solo reed (*Krummhorn*) on the *Rückpositiv*. The chorus on the *Rückpositiv* is based on the four-foot Principal, the foundation stop being the *Gedackt*; there is a four-foot flute to make a small flute chorus, the *Sesquialtera*, and the solo reed. The Pedals have a flue chorus (16 and 8) and the large reed. The instrument sounds delightful and very versatile within its small disposition. Nevertheless, it is impossible to play on it any piece that demands a four-

foot pedal solo and two manuals, or any sort of colour stop for a pedal solo except for the large reed in *organo pleno*.

Since, as the booklet says, of the 910 pipes in the organ 883 were new in 2000, whether the instrument sounds anything like Compenius intended is not ascertainable. The tuning is *Chorton* (A = 466), the temperament Meantone (no further details), so the tuning/temperament aspect is doubtless authentic. To me it seems very bright and powerful, much more so than I imagine it would have done in 1652. I imagine also that the wind supply is now much more efficient than it was then, and that the overall effect of the instrument is probably quite different.

Doubtless the instrument when built would have been very similar to the larger instrument in the *Predigerkirche*. The case looks original. I think we have here, albeit with those reservations that such a great distance in time must force us to entertain, the nearest we will get to hearing what Pachelbel's Erfurt instrument sounded like. The music of Pachelbel, Kittel and Scheidt, when played on this instrument, sounds both idiomatic and splendid.

The organ chorales of Johann Pachelbel; origins, purpose, style

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